

R O B I N's
PANEGYRICK.
OR, THE
N O R F O L K
MISCELLANY.

P A R T III.



L O N D O N:

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ROBERT
PANEGYRIC

OF THE
NORFOLK
MISCELLANY

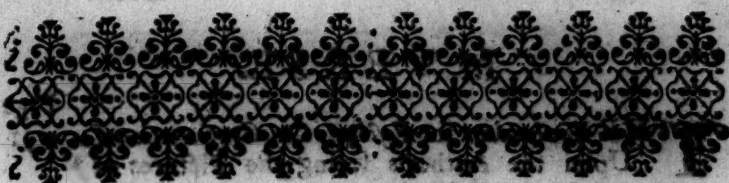
PART III.



LONDON:



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IN PROS

[illegible]



DGE *Justify'd.*

and Considerator.

nd Gibraltar:

Rogues hereafter.

another. River-birds

brello.

pie Vera.

Not only your Eyes may deceive you,
But your Ears themselves they may lie;
You wou'd own for a *Fee*,

Tho' a *Transcript* he be,
Concordat cum Originali.

How convenient it were for *Robin*,
When he reckons for Publick Money,
Could he vanish from Sight,
And swear 'twas a Bite,
And thought but an *Error Persona*.

Then a Fig for the hard-fac'd *Switzer*,
And his Midnight Way of Trading;
For we must needs declare,
There is nought can compare
To the Noon-day *Masquerading*.

On Colonel FRANCISCO, *Rape-Master General*
of Great Britain.

GOOD People come heark, and a Story I'll tell,
And unless you be Knaves, it will please ye full
well,
How an Accident strange a rich Rascal befell,

Which no body can deny.

Who would ravish, forswear, and pick Pockets, and
cheat,
And by Men was oft beaten, and Women did beat:
A Favourite worthy of BOBBY the Great!

Which no body can deny.

His Fellow on Earth to be sure there is not,
But as little to lessen your Wonder, I wot
By Name he is C H. S. by Nation a Scot,

Which no body can deny.

For a Rape he once fled from his own native Cline,
And with Pistols but lately attempted the Crime;
Sure he ought to be hang'd that is caught a third time,

Which no body can deny.

At

At the Age of Threescore he no wiser did grow,
 But must needs try again for a Frolick, or so,
 Like himself being willing to finish his Show,
Which no body can deny.

So a Maid he attack'd, but we here shall stop short;
 If you'd have any more, you must go to the Court,
 Where he once in his Lifetime has paid for the Sport,
Which no body can deny.

BOB told him before-hand, to give him his Due,
 Dear Col'nel, a Jury may make you look blue,
 If of *Englishmen* all, that are good Men and true,
Which no body can deny.

But no Jury could frighten our Col'nel so bold,
 Being sure *Tyburn-Tree*, tho' some Hundred Years old,
 Never yet bore a Man that had half so much Gold,
Which no body can deny.

But when Verdict was past, he was down in the Dumps,
 And for Shifts and Excuses Sir *William* he pumps;
 Ay, and *Bobby the Screen* too was put to his Trumps,
Which no body can deny.

The same that for *Huggins* was once in a Fright,
 For whom *Acton* and *Bambridge* will swear by this
 Light,

To a Rogue in Distress he is stil'd a *True Knight*,
Which no body can deny.

Quoth the Col'nel, in Hands disaffected my Store is,
 The two Sheriffs of *London* are violent *Tories*;
 The High-bailiff a-kin to a Bishop, that more is,
Which no body can deny.

So he blusters and swears in a terrible Coil-a:
 Thieves! South-Country Rogues! how my Treasure
 they spoil-a!
 Come and help good Lord Duke, come and help,
 Doctor *Isla*!

Which no body can deny.

Now Petitioners plenty our Liege do incumber,
 You may think Sir of *Norfolk* is one of the Number;
 Ah *Bob!* thou shouldst go further North than *North*
Humber,

Which no body can deny.

The National Folks they full wisely agreed,
 'Twere a Shame that a Loon of the North-Country
 Breed

Should be justify'd ever on this Side the *Tweed*,
Which no body can deny.

Tooth and Nail, one and all, for their Brother they
 stand,

From your Garters to Pedlars that travel the Land;
 All but those that have Hair in the Palm of their Hand,
Which no body can deny.

But Pardon some *Scots* for the rest may atone,
 Who for Honour and Virtue would Justice have shewn
 On the Plague of our Realm, and the Shame of their
 own,

Which no body can deny.

If his Majesty's Grace will let Villainy swing,
 O then all honest Hearts they will chearfully sing,
 Boys, hang up the Col'nel, and God bless the King,
Which no body can deny.



An Historical Ballad, humbly inscrib'd to the
DUMVIR.

FULL Forty long Years has *Old England* com-
 plain'd

Of Taxes of all Sorts and Sizes:

Much Blood has been spilt, much Wealth has been
 drain'd,

Yet still the good Counsel despises.

If Crowns she confers, and Kingdoms divides,
 With which she has nothing to do;
 Yet no one can blame her for oft changing Sides,
 To her own Kings just so she is true.

To pull down the *French*, to raise up the *Dutch*,
 The *Spaniard* and *German* to save;
 For herself to do nothing, for others too much,
 If not *Wise*, at least, it was *Brave*.

At length comes a Peace, and *France* is caress'd,
 For *France* is a faithful Ally!
 Then *Germans* are rais'd, the *Spaniard* oppress'd,
 And all this without knowing why.

Our Admiral nobly the *Spaniard* surpriz'd,
 Burnt his Ships ere a War did begin;
 And just as the Powers more potent advis'd,
 Poor SAVOY's turn'd out, and turn'd in.

Then *Germans* and *Spaniards* united the dares,
 And enters undaunted the Lists;
 Secur'd by the *Hessians*, Old *England* ne'er fears,
 And Great *Wolfenbuttle's* caress'd!

Our Trade will be lost, all *England* wear Chains,
 Don CARLOS to *Italy's* sent;
 New Taxes, more Troops, employ all our Pains,
 This fatal Design to prevent.

Cry-a-Mercy! it seems this is a Mistake,
 For Int'rest the *Don* we must aid;
 Our *Ancient Ally* we now must forsake,
 Of the *Emperor* only afraid.

Such Conduct must lead us, *Jove* only knows whither;
 Yet Order may spring from Confusion:
 'Tis Peace, it is War, 'tis both, it is neither,
 Effects of a *Blest Rev-----on!*

O ROBIN! O HORACE! ye Brethren so wise!
 Who Matters of State so well handle,
 At least take away, we humbly advise,
 The Taxes on Soap and on Candle.

To

To your Honours it is sufficient Pretence
 To order Repeal to those Laws,
 That our Ladies no more (to save the Expence
 Of Washing) be forc'd to wear Gauze.

Their Majesties then, whene'er they desire,
 With Safety may ramble at Night:
 Nor *tumble in Ditches*, nor *wallow in Mire*,
 For want of a Halfpenny Light.



*The DUEL. A Ballad. Tune of, King John
 and the Abbot.*

I MEAN not sad Treason or Scandal to sing,
 Of the Queen, or the Duke, or the Prince; or the
 King:
 Nor yet any Riff-raff from me shall you hear---O,
 To the Tune, and that all, of old *Lilly burlero*.
Derry down, &c.

But I sing of a Combat so fierce and so stout,
 'Twixt a Youth that is *In*, and a Man that is *Out*;
 'Twixt a 'Squire that can use both a Pen and a Sword,
 And a *Lordling* who is, but may be a *Lord*.

It matters not how this Quarrel did rise,
 With *Miss* and-----with *Master*, and *Master* and *Miss*;
 Or whether a Coward he should not be stil'd,
 Sets his Sword to a *Woman*, and Wit to a *Child*.

It was whisper'd full soft in the Favourite's Ear,
 There was nothing but Blood that his Honour could
 clear;
 And 'twas hop'd the bold 'Squire the 'bad Fortune
 might meet,
 To be murder'd, if beaten, and hang'd if he beat.

After long Consultation, a Challenge there went,
 To the Champion's Renown, and to Knighthood's
 Content;
 But the 'Squire cry'd out some Folks are wiser than
 some,
 So I shan't budge an Inch; if he comes let him come.
 So

So the *Courier* he waits on the *Foe to the Court*,
 And their Wrath it was great, tho' their Swords were
 but short,
 As if little Harm they intended to do,
 For the Blades, had they enter'd, cou'd scarce have
 reach'd thro'.

When their Weapons were measur'd, to Battle they
 rush,
 And with Wit and with Anger, they parry and push;
 Nay, they shorten'd their Swords, and afresh they begun,
 And some Mischief, for certain, there might have
 been done.

But the Seconds forbad it, who rightly suppos'd,
 'Twas high time they were parted, when once they
 were clos'd;
 So some Sweat there was lost, and some Blood there
 was spill'd,
 But they both were so spiteful, that neither was kill'd.

Now there needed no Surgeon at all to be found,
 The *Lordling* to dress, or take Care of his Wound;
 For *Sir Blue* did the Bus'ness, as Members do tell,
 For he stroak'd it, and kiss'd it, and so made it well.

Then he safely got off. Sure he means not to fight
 With all that are Foes to the *Blue-Ribband* Knight;
 For his Work wou'd be large, he might meet Hand
 to Hand
 Ev'ry Man without *Pension* and *Place* in the Land.

Dear 'Squire, you were wrong to let Bullies alarm ye,
 You may tilt at this rate, with the whole Royal Army:
 Any Scrub, with a Sword, may require t'other Bout,
 And may get a Commission, by fighting *without*.

'Twill be mere Woman's Work, never done, as they
 say;
 Have you reckon'd the Thousands abroad in our Pay?
 Since if *Great Britain's* Troops thro' the Guts cannot
 run ye,
Wolfenbottle and *Hesse* may be drawn out upon ye.

They

They have Odds then at Sharps, let your Pen make
 them smart,
 For that very Stab pelrcees home to the Heart:
 Let your Sword rest in Quiet, your Combat has shown,
 Tho' their Weapons are blunt, you may bleed by your
 own.

At least, 'tis beneath you with Vassals to fight;
 Go and enter the Lists, and *Sa Sa* with the Knight;
 Tho' your Conquest will small Satisfaction afford,
 For 'twould vex Friend and Foe, should he die by the
 Sword.

6 MA 50

F I N I S





The LORDS PROTEST

On the Second Rejection of the Pension-Bill.

Die Martis, Martii 2do, 1730.

HODIE 2da vice lecta est Billa, An Act for making more effectual the Laws in being, for disabling Persons from being chosen Members of, or voting in the House of Commons, who have any Pension during Pleasure, or for any Number of Years, or any Offices holden in Trust for them, by obliging Persons hereafter to be chosen to serve for the Commons in Parliament, to take the Oath therein mentioned.

Proposed to commit the Bill.

After long Debate,

The Question was put, Whether the said Bill should be committed?

It was Resolved in the Negative.

Then the Question was put, Whether the said Bill should be rejected?

It was Resolved in the Affirmative.

Dissentient

1. **B**ECAUSE the Reasons which were entered on our Journals last Session for the Commitment, and against the Rejection of this Bill, can, in our Judgment, have nothing of Weight said against them, as we think they want little to be added to them; tho' they seem to us to be strengthened on this Occasion, lest our second Refusal to concur with the House of Commons, in what solely
B regards

regards their own Members, and without any Arguments offered to them in a Parliamentary way for that Refusal, should be look'd upon by them as unkind, if not an unprecedented Treatment, and should, in the Opinion of many disinterested Lovers of our ancient Frame of Government, too justly create in them a Resentment that might interrupt the Harmony between the two Houses, which is necessary for carrying on the most important Affairs of the Nation.

2. Because the Commons seem'd to think this Bill is wanted, and we are perswaded it is earnestly desired by the People, and so wisely contrived, by a solemn and strict Oath of Purgation, to guard against secret Corruption in that Place, where, if ever it should be prevalent, its Consequences would be most pernicious and extensive, that we fear we should be exposed to some uncharitable Suspicions, if we did not in this most authentick manner the Constitution of Parliament will allow, from a becoming Zeal to hinder the Infection of so mischievous an Evil from spreading among others, give an undeniable Proof that we are untainted with it our selves.

3. Because a Member of Parliament, who is not ashamed to accept a Gratuity for any Service which he is ashamed publicly to avow, must be conscious to himself (as we fear) that he is guilty of an immoral Action; and therefore we conceive ourselves not only obliged in Policy, but in Conscience, to yield our Assent to a Bill, that, as far as we could apprehend upon the most mature and serious Reflection, contains a proper Expedient in this limited Monarchy, to preserve both the Innocence and Independence of elected Legislators, and that we had reasonable Hopes would, in a great measure, have prevented the Danger of an infamous Breach of a Trust of the highest Nature, reposed in every single Member of the Lower House, for the Benefit of the whole Community, which we think a Crime that ought to be dreaded by us, as *Good Patriots*, and that we are bound to abhor, as *Sincere Christians*.

4. Be-

4. Because we cannot but with Grief of Heart lament the Loss of that Opportunity, which, by enacting this Bill into a Law, we assure our selves his Majesty would have embraced with particular Satisfaction, of demonstrating to all his Subjects, that he is incapable of suffering an improper Use to be made by any of his Servants, of that large Revenue, which a Parliament, liberal beyond any Example of their Predecessors, so chearfully gave him, or of entertaining the least Thought himself to the Prejudice of the Liberties or Properties of his People, by any unjustifiable Influence on their Representatives.

Berkshire	Willoughby de Br.	Bathurst
Bruce	Strafford	Cadogan
Plymouth	Northampton	Bristol
Bedford	Thanet	Coventry
Foley	Warrington	Bridgewater
Gainsborough	Aylesford	Boyle
Gower	Abingdon	Oxf. and Mortim.
Abergavenny	Maynard	Ancafter Gr. Cha.

A BILL for making more effectual the Laws in being, for disabling Persons from being chosen Members of, or sitting or voting in the House of Commons, who have any Pension during Pleasure, or for any Number of Years, or any Office holden in Trust for them, by obliging Persons hereafter to be chosen to serve for the Commons in Parliament, to take the Oath therein mentioned.

May it please Your most Excellent Majesty,

THAT it may be Enacted, and be it Enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in
B 2 this

this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That from and after the 24th Day of June, 1731, no Person who shall be elected a Member to serve in the House of Commons, shall vote or sit in the said House, during any Debate there, after the Speaker is chosen, until such Member shall from time to time, and in Manner following, first take the Oath herein after mentioned, and subscribe the same in a Parchment Roll, to be provided by the Clerk of the House of Commons, for that Purpose, viz.

“ I *A. B.* do solemnly and sincerely swear, that
 “ I have not directly or indirectly, any Pension during Pleasure, or for any Number of Years, from the Crown, nor any Office in Part, or in the Whole, from the Crown, held for me, or for my Benefit, by any Person whatsoever: And
 “ I do solemnly and sincerely promise and swear, that I will not receive, accept, or take directly or indirectly, during the Time of my being a Member of this Parliament, any Pension during Pleasure, or for any Number of Years, or any other Gratuity or Reward whatsoever, or any Office from the Crown, to be held for me, or for my Benefit in Part, or in the Whole thereof, by any Person whatsoever, without signifying the same to this House, within Fourteen Days after I have received or accepted the same, if the Parliament be then sitting, or within Fourteen Days after the next Meeting of the Parliament.” So help me God.

Which said Oath shall be in this and every succeeding Parliament, solemnly and publickly taken and subscribed by every such Member of the House of Commons, at the Table in the Middle of the said House, at the same time that he takes the other Oaths by Law directed to be taken, whilst a full House of Commons is there duly sitting with their Speaker in his Chair.

And be it further enacted, that if any Member so taking the Oath, and subscribing as before directed, shall, at the time of taking the said Oath, have any Pen,

Pension during Pleasure, or for any Number of Years, or any Office from the Crown, in Part, or in Whole, held in Trust for him, or for his Benefit, or shall, during his being a Member of Parliament, accept, receive, or take any Pension during Pleasure, or for any Number of Years, or any other Gratuity or Reward whatsoever, or any Office in Part, or in the Whole, to be held for him, or for his Benefit, from the Crown, without signifying the same to the House, as aforesaid, such Member shall be, and is hereby adjudged and declared to be guilty of Wilful and Corrupt Perjury, and being thereof convicted by due Course of Law, shall incur and suffer the Pains and Penalties which by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm are inflicted in Cases of Wilful and Corrupt Perjury, and shall from thenceforth be incapable of taking, holding, or enjoying any Office whatsoever

And be it further Enacted, that if any Member elected as aforesaid, shall refuse or neglect to take and subscribe the Oath as before directed, the Place for which such Member was elected, is hereby, without any other Conviction or Proceeding, declared void to all Intents and Purposes, as if such Member was naturally dead.

And be it further Enacted, That in Case any Member shall presume to sit or vote in the House of Commons, after the Speaker is chosen, without taking and subscribing the Oath herein before mentioned, such Member shall forfeit the Sum of Thirty Pounds for each Day he shall sit and vote as aforesaid, to be recovered and received with full Costs of Suit, by him or them, who shall sue for the same, and to be prosecuted by any Action, Suit-Bill, Plaint, or Information, in any of his Majesty's Courts of Record at *Westminster*, wherein no Effeign, Protection, Wager of Law, or more than one Imparlance, shall be admitted or allowed; and shall from thenceforth be incapable of taking, holding, or enjoying any Office or Employment of Profit or Trust under his Majesty, his Heirs or Successors.

Provided always, and it is hereby Declared and Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no Per-

son shall be made liable to any Disability, Incapacity, Forfeiture or Penalty by this Act laid or imposed, unless Prosecution be commenced within one Year next after the Dissolution, or other Determination of the Parliament in which such Disability, Incapacity, Forfeiture, or Penalty, shall be incurred; or, in case of a Prosecution, unless the same be carried on without wilful Delay, any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

N. B. *The following Piece should have been printed in Part II. before the PROPER REPLY.*



Sedition and Defamation Display'd.

To the PATRONS of the CRAFTSMAN.

Gentlemen,

AS I am a Member of the Community which you are endeavouring to disturb, a Friend to the Constitution which you are labouring to overturn, and a faithful Subject to the King whom you daily insult, you have no Right to expect a Panegyrick from me: I will therefore deal sincerely with you, by assuring you, that as the Writings you patronize, tho' *Libels*, are no *Satires*; so mine, tho' a *Dedication*, shall be no *Flattery*.

It often happens that Authors do not know their Patrons; if we did, we should not have such Pictures of them, as Dedicators but too frequently exhibit. It is not impossible that I may fall into the same Error; but as the Mode obliges a Writer in this Way to draw some kind of Characters, give me leave to indulge my Fancy in framing such, as may best intitle you to the Honour of patronizing the seditious Labours of Mr. *Danvers*. Nor am I unwilling to allow you the Credit of sometimes
lending

lending a helping Hand to his most remarkable Performances, tho' Modesty may oblige you to conceal your real Names, under the fictitious ones of *Old-castle* or *Trot*.

And I am the rather induced to this, it being so much the modern Fashion to consider *Persons* rather than *Things*, that the good People of *Britain* may be apprized what has been the Provocation to so much inveterate Malice, and unprecedented Scurillity; for *whose* Sakes they are incited to Sedition and Rebellion; and on what mighty Occasion they are thus weekly called upon to hazard their Liberty, Peace, and Prosperity.

Let me then suppose a young Gentleman, coming some time since into the World, with all the Advantages that recommend Men to the Esteem, Favour, and Approbation of Mankind, caress'd and espoused by the *Ministers*, loaded with the Favours of the *Crown*, promoted to some of the most considerable Employments of Honour, Profit, and Trust, and particularly supported by *One*, who heaped upon him all the Obligations that cordial Friendship could ask or give: But being in his own Nature ambitious and aspiring, a Slave to his Passions, impatient and irresolute, unable to bear a Superiority; conceiving unjust Jealousies and Discontents, full of himself, and his own extraordinary Merit, and determined to hold the highest Offices in the State, or to censure and confound *all* the Measures of the Government, under any other *Administration*; he at length renounced at once all former Friendships and Principles, vowing the Destruction of those who had distinguish'd him by a peculiar Regard, betraying private Correspondencies, and endeavouring to distress and disturb *that Prince* and *that Family* to which he owed the highest Obligations.

Let me suppose another Person, whose Parts and Capacity will be as little disputed, as their having been always employed in *Baseness*, *Ingratitude*, and *Treachery*, caress'd, and promoted to an Employment of high Rank, by the *greatest General*, and *greatest Statesman* of their Time; on the first Occasion joining with their Enemies to procure their Downfall: For this *Merit* rewarded by the succeeding *Mini-*

ster with still a greater and more honourable Employment; scarce warm in that Employment, but projecting, and at last procuring, the *Disgrace* of his *new Patron*: Restored to the Liberty of breathing the Air of his native Country, and the Enjoyment of his Fortune (when he was deservedly an Exile from *one*, and had justly forfeited the *other*) by the *Indulgence, Favour* and *Assistance* of another *Minister*; using that *Indulgence*, and requiting that *Favour*, by labouring the Destruction of his *last Benefactor*: In the *Service* of the Prince who wore the Crown, a zealous *Jacobite*, and Agent of the *Pretender*: In the *Service* of the *Pretender*, a Spy, and Partizan of the Prince who then wore the Crown: In a forlorn State of Despair, abandon'd and discarded by *both*, suing at the same time for Mercy to *both*, at the Expence of *either*, with a natural Byass to serve that Prince *first* whom he had *last abjured*, and to distress and undermine him to whom he had *last* sworn Fidelity, and from whom he had received the *last* Obligation.

Let me then suppose *two such Persons, pares cum paribus*, whom a Sympathy of Nature had reconcil'd, and the predominant Principle of endeavouring to raise themselves upon the Ruin of their best Benefactors, had united in the strictest Friendship, Confidence and Intimacy, *joint Patriots*, and Advocates for Liberty, *Partners* in the glorious Work of reforming the State, *Associates* in the great Work of demolishing (not *Dunkirk*, but) the *present Ministry*; *two inseparable Collegues*, ready to take upon them the Care of the Publick, as soon as it shall be put into their Hands. Let me, I say, suppose such Characters, and it is impossible to doubt but this *Dedication* must be due to them.

If *these*, and *such as these*, are the Men that set themselves up for the Guardians of our Liberties; if *these*, and *such as these*, are the Men who think *themselves* at Liberty to vilify and abuse the rest of Mankind; if *these*, and *such as these*, are the Men who would fain be the Rulers of this Nation, and sacrifice the Welfare of the Kingdom, and even the King who sits upon the Throne, to their own implacable Revenge, and boundless Ambition: If
such

such Characters are to be met with, the People of *Britain* will consider, whether 'tis worth while for their sakes to distress or embroil their native Country. But if no such Persons are in Being, this Dedication is thrown away; and it would be in vain to subscribe myself,

Gentlemen,

Your Humble Servant, &c.



SEDITION and DEFAMATION, &c.

IT may appear at first sight a very unnecessary Undertaking, to endeavour to shew the Unreasonableness of attempting to raise Sedition or Rebellion in the Kingdom, which might end in the Subversion of our present happy Establishment, at a Time when the Nation seems in perfect Tranquillity; when our Liberties are preserved sacred and entire; when no Plots at Home, or Invasion from Abroad seem to threaten us; and when the Spirit of *Jacobitism* seems to lie dormant in private Corners, till a more proper Season offers to exert itself. But as there is still a Spirit of Discontent endeavour'd to be kept up and fomented, even in the midst of our Happiness and Tranquillity, by a few base and mercenary Incendiaries, I cannot think it improper, for those who in earnest wish well to this Government and this Nation, to endeavour to apply some Antidotes to that secret Poison they are artfully instilling into more unthinking People, which might otherwise prove fatal, or at least highly prejudicial to the whole Body.

I have passed the greatest Part of the late long Vacation in a Country Retirement; in which Circumstance, the perusing the publick Prints, with which we abound, is an Amusement in which I believe most People find Entertainment; as it gives them some Notion of what is stirring in the active Part of the World, while they are enjoying the Fruits of Peace and Liberty, by the Labours of the Busy and the

the Great: And I can't help observing, that a Man must have a very bad Heart, who envies the Rewards, or hates the Persons of those to whom he is obliged for so invaluable Blessings.

Among the Papers I have constantly perused, are the *Craftsman* and *Fog's Journal*, those infamous Retailers of Lies, Scandal, Sedition, and Treason: At once the Demonstration and the Reproach of that unlimited Freedom we enjoy, and of the Lenity and Goodness of that King and that Government which the Authors are hired to defame. If any of the worthy Authors may be offended at my supposing they are paid for their Labours, let this be my Excuse, that I imagine it impossible for any Man who affects the Name of a Gentleman, to suffer such Obloquy and *Billingsgate* to dropt from his Pen, as he would be ashamed should come from his Tongue, and afraid to utter before his Equals, and much more his Superiors.

I very freely own, that the Manner in which our present political Controversies are handled by the Writers on one Side, has been the chief Motive that induced me to give myself, or the Publick, this Trouble. And as the principal Arguments may be collected into a very narrow Compass, so the Eloquence and Reasoning employed upon them would have been very short, if those concerned in the Dispute would have confined themselves to Matters of Fact, and the true Interest of their Country.

A Man that acts upon honest and sincere Principles, who is in Reality, and not in Pretence only, a *Patriot*, reasons on all publick Occasions with Calmness and Temper, expresses his Fears for the Commonwealth with Hopes that they are groundless, and is ready and desirous to be convinced that his Apprehensions were unnecessary. But it is the direct Reverse with the discontented, disappointed Zealot. The first Step he takes, is to vow Ruin and Destruction to one Man, or to a Set of Men in Power; and then to make use of any Arguments, any Reasons, any Means, any Artifice, to put his rash Vow in Execution. Truth or Falshood are to him Things indifferent, except as to their Tendency to the great Point he has in View. The Welfare
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or Ruin of his Country bears no Proportion in his Mind, to the Prosperity or Ruin of the Man he hates: He triumphs and rejoices in the midst of civil Discord; and the greatest Pain he is capable of feeling, is when he is sensible of the Peace, the Plenty, the Liberty his native Country enjoys, under the Influence or Administration of the Persons he dislikes.

I am sensible there is no one Man in *England*, how angry soever he may be with the present Ministry, will own the Resemblance of the Picture I have drawn; and I hope for this Advantage from it, that I shall incur no *modern Patriot's* Displeasure. Nay, I will have so much Charity even for the most inveterate of our modern Incendiaries, that I believe at first setting out, they did not design to have run the Lengths that Time and Despair have obliged them to do.

It is therefore very observable by what Steps they have gone on from one Degree of Iniquity to another, and how they gradually inured themselves to write, and the People to read, and endure such traiterous Falshoods, as at first setting out would have been odious and shocking to their Readers, and possibly even to themselves.

Nemo repente fuit turpissimus, was the Saying of a Man who lash'd the Follies and Vices of his Time with great Freedom and Acrimony, and yet he was willing to allow that Alleviation (if indeed it be such) to those whose Crimes he inveigh'd against with most Severity. I can never be convinc'd that any Men, whose Principles and Education proclaimed them to be Whigs, and whose Actions for the first Part of their Lives confirmed that Opinion, could, on any Offence, Disappointment, or even ill Usage, resolve at once to throw themselves into the Arms of those they had opposed; to renounce, vilify, and abuse, not only those particular Persons whom they profess to hate, but all their former Friends, Acquaintance, and Partizans; to traduce and arraign the Majority of both Houses of Parliament, and by Lies, Insinuations, and odious *Parallels*, to endeavour to disturb and reflect on His Majesty and his Government, and, as much as in them lies,

lies, to alienate the Affections of the People from that Illustrious Family, which it is the Characteristic of their former Principles to support and defend. These things, I say, appear to me impossible to be the Effects of one stated Resolution; and yet such *were* the professed Principles, and such *is* the notorious Practice of the renowned *Authors* of the *Craftsman*, and their open and secret *Patrons* and *Abettors*.

I know very well this will be turn'd into Ridicule by the witty Reasoners of this Age. What! is all this Bustle about the paultry Authors of a Two-penny Paper? Are Mr. *Fogg*, and Mr. *D'anvers*, such dangerous Enemies to the State? Can they raise such Discontents and Sedition, overturn His Majesty's Government, or alienate the People's Affection from His Family? Poor must be the Strength of that Government, and small must be the Affection of that People, which such petty Scribblers have Power to weaken! This I know *will* be said: This I know *has* been said. But this gives me leave to say in Answer; Poor is the Defence this Sarcasm supplies, to such as speak and act in conformity to what *these Scribblers* write. A Body of Men, or the Place they meet in, may be so sacred as to render it improper, if not unsafe, to reflect on, or even to represent what passes there; and yet a Concurrence of Sentiments of a few amongst them may so far dignify these Weekly *Incendiaries*, as to render them worthy of Notice: Nay, I am even apprehensive that Mr. *Oldcastle* and *John Trott*, will be offended at this Excuse, and that the Appellations of *paultry Authors*, and *petty Scribblers*, will be resented by both.

Tho' these Papers being industriously dispersed throughout the Kingdom, are, and have been, of very pernicious Consequence, by impudently asserting Falshoods, sowing Discontents, and instilling groundless and malicious Insinuations into the Minds of unthinking People; especially in remote Parts, where the Opportunities of better Information are wanting; yet, I own, I thought there needed some Apology for taking this Notice of them. Raking in the Dirt, and even removing the Filth they have

thrown,

thrown, is a Task that must be nauseous to any Man that attempts it : And whoever does, runs the Hazard of being sullied himself: But when Gentlemen of Figure and Fortune think fit to patronize and concur in the dirty Work of these Fellows; when they are determined to be taken notice of at any rate, and can find no better way than that of bespatt'ring their Neighbours without Distinction, it in some degree justifies the Undertaking, tho' nothing can render it agreeable.

I shall therefore proceed to consider the Methods made use of to destroy the present Ministry. It was far from being proper to that Purpose to enter coolly into the Debate of the Reasons and Motives for the several Steps taken by the Government, with regard to the publick Affairs of *Europe*. The Interests of Nations, the Cabals of foreign Courts, the Intricacies of Treaties, and the political Secrets or remote Views of other Powers, are of too dry and too abstruse a Nature for their Purpose. The Generality of the People, especially of the inferior sort, seldom enter deeply into Debates of that Nature; or, if they did, have not Opportunity or Capacity to judge so nicely of them, as to engage warmly on a Subject so remote from their usual Employment and way of thinking. While they enjoyed Peace, Liberty, and Plenty, it would be difficult for the most refined Reasoner, or most accomplish'd Author, to inflame them against the Administration, to stir them up against their Representatives, to induce them to revile the whole Legislature, or to incite them to Sedition or Rebellion against his Majesty, from whose Goodness, Candor, and Wisdom, they receive all Blessings. Recourse therefore must be had to other Methods: Every little unavoidable Inconvenience must be aggravated and doubled, every Success either totally deny'd, or lessen'd and ridicul'd: Jealousies and Suspicions must first be invented and rais'd, and then published and cultivated as sacred Truths: The Ministers must be accused of every Crime that the Heart of Man can invent, and compared to every Traytor that this or any other Country ever produced: The Majority of the House of Commons must be describ'd as a Pack of Mercenaries;

cenaries; the whole Bench of Bishops must be stigmatiz'd as Enemies to all Virtue Moral and Divine; nay, the entire Nobility in a Lump devoted to Destruction; the best of Queens must be vilify'd and traduced by these infamous Libellers; and, to compleat their Villainy, the sacred Majesty of the King himself must be insulted, and the Histories of Sedition, Rebellion, Deposition, and Murder, set before Him as Terrors, and Examples. After having given this Abstract of the worthy Labours of our modern Incendiaries, I think I need not add, that thro' the whole Course of their Performances, there must not be the least Regard to Truth, unless in such Instances where it should be carefully avoided. An impudent Face must pass for the Evidence of an honest Heart, a bold Assertion supply the want of Matter of Fact, and a saucy Repetition of the same Falshood be imposed as an undoubted Proof of Veracity.

From these Maxims it is that I conclude, That if these Observations are thought worthy of an Answer, it will consist chiefly in a steady, positive Denial, that these Accusations are true. I shall therefore, as far as I can recollect (not having by me any Collection) from this Load of Infamy and Scandal, give a few Instances of the several Heads above-mentioned. And if I should be called upon to quote Chapter and Verse, I may perhaps endeavour to prevail on a *Jacquire* Neighbour of mine, to procure me a compleat Set of those traiterous Libels from Mr. *Fog* and Mr. *Franklin*, for that Purpose.

The first thing therefore I shall take notice of, is the Pains taken to aggravate every Inconvenience, tho' they are such as must unavoidably attend all Governments; and which no human Prudence can entirely prevent. In the first Place, by daily inveighing against the Load of Taxes which they say the Nation lies under, and by constant unwearied Endeavours striving to make the Populace uneasy, even at the necessary Provisions for the annual Support of the State. The Debt incurr'd for the Preservation of our Religion and Liberties, from the Revolution to this Day, is insinuated as a Charge against the
present

present Government; and in a Pamphlet published some time since, and still highly extolled, is asserted to be increased, instead of diminished, even since the Establishment of the Sinking Fund. How the *former* Part of the Charge can be supported, I own myself to be at a Loss to understand; and I think it so absurd, as to be impossible to do the Mischief intended: As to the *latter*, the Falsity has been so notoriously made appear, upon an accidental Occurrence in the House of Commons, soon after the Publication of that Libel, that I shall take no farther notice of it, except to make this one Observation: That the Author appears to me very imprudent, by having inserted at the end of his most egregious Performance, a List of the several Taxes from the Year 1688; a Period of Time remembered with too much Gratitude and Affection by every honest *Englishman*, to deserve a Reflection or an invidious Comparison with the preceeding Times of Tyranny and Oppression. He that would do Mischief, must pretend at least to be a Friend to our present happy Establishment; and if the Author of that Libel be one, he is the only one that ever was so, and at the same time could asperse the *Glorious Memory* of our *Great Deliverer King William*, by a dirty Insinuation of the Grievousness of those Taxes *He* was unwillingly obliged to ask of this Nation, for their own Welfare and Support.

The next Misfortune to be aggravated and improved, is Losses sustained by our Merchants in the *West Indies*. This is indeed a Misfortune, and such a one as every Inhabitant of *Great Britain* is concerned in. The Merchant does not only trade for his own Profit, but for that of the Nation; and every Individual, who gains but ten Pounds for himself, is so far a Contributor to the Riches of the Kingdom. In this Light the Loss of each Ship is a national Concern, and, as such, it appears it was considered in our late Treaty with *Spain*. All the Provision is there made for Redress, that the Nature of the thing is capable of at present; which I venture to say, because I have asked the most zealous Advocates for the Sufferers, what better Stipulations they could propose, and never heard any mention'd.

mention'd. I have indeed heard a Precedent quoted, of shutting up Commissaries without Victuals, Fire, or Candle, but I presume not as a Proposal to be comply'd with. This is indeed a Misfortune to be lamented, complained of, and if possible to be redress'd; but at the same time not to be aggravated, exaggerated, and made a Handle for Clamour and unreasonable Discontent. An Application to His Majesty from the Persons injured, that Care might be taken of them in the Treaty, would not only have been very proper, but could not have fail'd both of a gracious Answer, and a due Reward from such a Sovereign. A Petition to the Representatives of the People to strengthen the King's Hands on this Occasion, might likewise be very becoming; and when such a one was delivered, an Address was made to the Crown in Consequence of it. These are Methods becoming an honest *Englishman*, and such as no one can find fault with. But tho' these may be sufficient for the honest unfortunate Trader, they are not so far for the factious and discontented. To accomplish their Ends, the Loss of every Ship must be charged as a fresh Crime on the Administration; while *Spain* is at Variance with us, we must be accused as the Aggressors, and having provoked them to do us Mischief; from the Moment they are in *Amity* with the *Nation*, they become the *Enemies* of the *Faction*, and their Guilt is unpardonable. Our real Losses are not sufficient to raise such a Clamour of themselves, as is necessary for their Purpose; so the Eloquence of Mr. *H——s* must be employed in every Coffee-house in the City, to display them in their most odious Colours: The Losses of late Years are not a sufficient Load for the present Administration, so a List must be composed of every Vessel taken, from the signing the Peace of *Utrecht* to this Day, in Peace or in War, by Pyrate or *Garde de Costa*, fair Trader or Smuggler, and all must be placed to the Account of the present Ministry. Satisfaction to the Merchant is the least Thing they were anxious for; that would put an End to Clamour and Discontent; and their only Hope at present, is the Failure in the punctual Observation of the Articles for that Purpose. These

These are the only real Inconveniencies or Misfortunes that I can recollect, as charged to the Account of the present *Ministers* since the *Hanover* Succession took Place: For I presume the Rebellion in the beginning of the late Reign, and the necessary Expence in suppressing it, will not be brought to their Account. Besides, the chief of the *Faction* were then *Whigs*, and consequently Friends to this Royal Family; what they are at present, let *them* explain; 'tis difficult to do it from their Actions.

From these Inconveniencies therefore, fewer and less considerable than ever attended this Nation for so long a Series of Time, as since his late Majesty's Accession, it appeared difficult, it has proved vain to attempt the Destruction of the Ministers, the only Point in View. However, still to contribute toward it, any Success that may have attended their Counsels, must be lessened and depreiated. The Peace and Tranquillity these Nations have enjoyed during so long a Period of Time, the flourishing State of our Trade in general, except with some small Interruption, the Increase of Riches to the Nation, which appears indisputable from the low Interest of Money, and the prosperous State of publick Credit, are so far from being Matters of Joy and Gratitude, that some are impudently denied, and others represented as the Effects of Pusillanimity, and inglorious to the Nation. Loss of Trade, Difficulties in Credit, and a State of War and Confusion, are the Waters these pretended *Patriots* want to fish in: These they hoped by their pious Endeavours to have made their Harvest; and their Disappointment has driven them to that Degree of Madness, as to deny at Noon-day our Enjoyment of the contrary Blessings. The Suppression of the *Ostend* Company, so highly detrimental to our *East-India* Trade, has provoked them to so high a Degree of Indignation, that after having in vain attempted for a Year or two to support the *Emperor's* Right to establish such a Company, now that no longer subsists, the Edge of their Reasoning is turned to the Destruction of our *own*, contrary to the Faith of *Acts of Parliament*, and to the apparent *Hazard*

at least, if not the certain *Ruin* of that beneficial Branch of Commerce. Nay, so inveterate is their Malice, not only to the Ministers, but to every Body of Men, who are either by their Inclination or Interest attach'd to the Support of our happy Establishment, that scarce a Winter passes without some odious Reflections and bitter Invectives against the *BANK of England* itself; a Body of Men, to whose Care and Prudence in their own Affairs, as well as their unshaken Attachment to the true Interest of their Country, and ready Assistance on all proper Emergencies, I have ever thought the Happiness and Prosperity of this Nation in a great measure owing. And to this, and this only, can they owe the Malice of these Incendiaries. Nor have the Proprietors of *South-Sea-Stock* escaped the like Invectives; 'tis Crime enough in them to be *Creditors* to this Government, and consequently depend upon its Security. This must render these great Bodies Friends to the Peace and Tranquillity of the State, and consequently the Factious and Seditious must be Enemies to them. Tho' as to the last of these Bodies, I mean the *South-Sea Company*, the Incendiaries of late seem to make some Overtures of Reconciliation, on a Glimmering of Hope, that by their Means, and with great Industry and Pains, some new unhappy Difference may possibly be brought about between this Nation and our Allies the *Spaniards*. So willing are they to catch at every Twig, that may preserve their poor Spirits from sinking.

Thus far the *Faction* has labour'd in vain. The Ministers still subsist, and no Vacancies are made for their Successors. This cavilling about foreign Politicks, and these unavoidable Inconveniencies have not inflamed the People to call out for a Change of Government; therefore some domestick Grievance must be found out, that may more sensibly affect them. But here is the Difficulty, No such Grievance is really to be found, nor is it easy to invent such a one, as shall gain sufficient Regard, to be of any Service, in Contradiction to the Senses and daily Experience of those who must be made to believe it. His Majesty has graciously declared, that *he will*
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make the Laws of the Land the Measure of his Government. His Majesty's known Character gives undoubted Sanction to his Word; and the Experience we have had of this Goodness and Justice in this Particular, makes it traiterous to doubt it. What then is to be done? At length this noble Expedient is invented. First, to write and publish seditions and traiterous Libels against the Government, and His Majesty himself, which must necessarily draw down a *just and legal* Prosecution of the Authors and Publishers; and then to complain of that just and necessary Prosecution, as an Infringement of the *Liberty of the Press*, and the Right of every *Englishman*. A Design to restrain the Freedom of Writing by some new Law, must first be affirmed as Fact, and then represented as a Grievance: This imaginary *Design* of a Grievance, enlarged into a Breach of *Magna Charta*; and this *imaginary Breach of Magna Charta*, is made a real Handle to encourage Sedition and Rebellion. But, alas! the Design lives not but in their own Brains. The Government is not so weak, as to want so extraordinary a Remedy.

I must now take notice of the scurrilous Language, and groundless Aspersions with which these Incendiaries have endeavoured to defame the Ministers. But I presume I shall not be call'd upon for particular Instances to support this Fact: To do that effectually, would be to transcribe their whole Labours for some Years past. Examine every Libel, let the Subject be never so remote, and you may be sure of meeting some *odious Epithet* tack'd to the Word *Minister*, to season the Flatness of the Discourse, and give a Relish agreeable to the Palate of those *who are to pay for the Dispersing of the Poison*. Nor is it at all thought necessary that these *Billingsgate* Appellations should be consistent with each other, much less founded in Truth, or even Probability. Names must be called, no matter what; but the more the better. One Name of Reproach may affect a Reader of *one* kind, and another of *another*. And by the Help of this universal Catalogue of Slander, no Man can want a proper Appellation

to stigmatize the Person he wishes to abuse. Thus, *avaritious* and *expensive*, *enterprizing* and *cowardly*, *bold* and *fearful*, *ignorant* and *cunning*, seem to be at first Sight somewhat inconsistent and contradictory; and yet, by a little Artifice, and a great deal of Impudence, they are all made to centre in the same Person. But the *two* favourite Epithets of the whole Collection are *corrupt* and *blundering*; and as they are so often repeated, deserve a little more particular Regard.

I believe no body will deny that for some time past, there has not been wanting a hearty Goodwill, utterly to disgrace and destroy those Ministers who are thus abused. It will likewise be readily granted, that among those who wish their Destruction, *nay, and have vowed it too*, there are not wanting Men of great Parts and Abilities, versed in the Ways of Business, acquainted with Courts, and not ignorant of Mankind. Can it then be doubted that they are at a loss for the most speedy and effectual Method to accomplish their Designs? Can they have a Doubt within themselves that one or more apparent Proofs of this heavy Charge of *universal Corruption*, would contribute more to the attaining of their Ends, than Volumes of Papers, or the most labour'd Harangues without it can possibly do? Can they be so ignorant of His Majesty's own Honour and Integrity, as to doubt that such a Proof is the readiest Way to remove the Ministers from His Favour? Or can they believe, that He is so weak, or any Number of Men so credulous, as to be convinced without it? What then must every impartial Man think of this Charge! He must immediately conclude it proceeds from Malice, and is a groundless Slander.

All that I have ever heard alledged in Excuse for not producing any Evidence to support this Accusation, is, That the Times are improper; that those who ought to remedy this Evil are sharers in the Guilt, and those who ought to cure the Disease, are themselves infected with the Distemper. Poor and low is this Subterfuge! Bold and daring is the Insinuation! His Majesty can remedy this Evil were he
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convinced of the Truth : Is he therefore such a Sharer in the Guilt of his Servants, that these *honest, honest IAGO's* dare not acquaint Him with their Crimes? This with one Voice they will disclaim: And yet with an Assurance little inferior, affect to lay it at the Door of the Body of the Legislature; traducing at once a Number of Peers and Gentlemen, much their Superiors, and Betters, in the Eyes of all the World, but their own.

Now let me ask, What is the Mischief could attend these Accusers, were the *Accusation proved*, and the Accused *unjustly acquitted*, according to their invidious Insinuation? None certainly. This *they know*; and from this *we know*, that their Excuse is false, and their Accusation groundless. What then must those *Incendiaries* be, who without Foundation, and without Remorse, go on thus to vilify and abuse, not the Ministers only, but the whole Legislature? He that calls another a *Villain*, ought to be ready to prove it, or the Scandal will recoil. He that can bring Proof of a Crime against the State, and conceals it, is guilty of *Misprision* at least of the same offence: If he knows it, he ought to declare it; but if he knows it not, and yet proclaims it as Fact, he is a *false Slanderer*, and, as such, the Pest of Society.

The other Epithet which I have engaged to take particular Notice of, as being of late inseparable from the Word *Minister*, is *Blundering*: And I own it fills me with Astonishment, when I consider how very low human Nature may be reduced by the Effects of Rage and Despair. How far the Principles of Honour may engage some Men not to blast the Reputation of others with whom they have lived in Friendship, I will not determine; in that Case some Regard ought to be shewn to their own Character, lest the World should imagine they had formerly been Sharers in the Guilt of those with whom they lived in Amity: But if this could be got over, yet every Man is fond of his own Understanding; and I should imagine, for the sake of that, would be unwilling to own that he had been the profess'd *Friend and Follower* of a Fool or a Blockhead. For how long a Term of

Years have these Railers been proud of fighting under the Banner of those they now traduce? And would they now persuade the World they are able to instruct their Masters? Men may be deceived in the Choice of their Friends; but 'tis hard to determine him immediately to be a *Fool*, some of whose Dependants may prove to be *Knaves*. And yet *this* is the *only* Instance by which they can pretend to verify their Imputation. In short, it would be as impertinent a Piece of Flattery in me, to attempt to vindicate the Understanding of those they thus abuse, as it is superlative Assurance in them to endeavour to lessen it, in contradiction to their *own Knowledge*, and that of all the World: They may swell, if they please, like the Toad in the Fable, but will find no more Compassion from Mankind when they burst, than the poisonous Animal they resemble.

I should now take some notice of that private Scandal, and personal Abuse, in which they have dealt so largely, and so infamously, not with regard to Persons of high Stations, but some of inferior Rank and Degree: But as *Billingsgate* of that Nature, puts the Person that uses it on a level with a Porter, he ought to be despised as such; and the threshing a Printer adds but little Credit to the Character of a Gentleman.

The Attacks against the Ministers being still ineffectual, their Opponents are reduced to consider how it happens, that these ignorant *Blunderers* have been able to stand their Ground, against the Opposition of such able and infallible Politicians as themselves. At last, with much Labour and Study they discovered, that the two Houses of Parliament are Friends to the present Establishment, approve the Measures which his late and present Majesty have pursued, and don't pay that Deference and Regard they ought to do to these accomplish'd Statesmen. Since therefore they can't prevail with the Representatives of the People to distress the King, they must endeavour to inflame the People against their Representatives. In order to this they have pitch'd upon two Expedients, one of them ridiculous and absurd, and the other base and unmannerly. Can the

the Electors of *Great Britain* take it as a Compliment, to be told, they have chosen Persons whose Principles they dislike, from mercenary Views and private Advantages? Or will they not rather think it shameful that *they* must be abused, because the Gentlemen they have chosen, are not mean and weak enough to assist in carrying on the mercenary Views, and private Advantages of these ambitious Revilers? How short-liv'd were the Hopes of Mr. *D'auvers*, when he flatter'd himself with the Disappointment those Gentlemen would meet with, whom his Majesty honour'd with Marks of his Favour at the End of last Session? The unanimous Voice of their Electors restored them to the Capacity of serving their Country in Parliament, and consequently of rendering the most acceptable Service that can be shewn to such a King, by contributing their Endeavours for the Good of his People.

This brings me to the next Expedient, which is to make the Representatives odious, by insinuating that they are as mercenary and corrupt, as they before described their Electors. And this from one single Reason, because some of those who are thought worthy by the People to take the Charge of their Welfare in *Parliament*, are likewise thought worthy by their Prince to be trusted with some Share of the Civil Government, to which Profit may be annex'd. How base is this Maxim, how false is the Conclusion! Is our Common-wealth so formed, that the Service of the King and of the People is inconsistent? Is the Throne filled with such a Prince, that obeying his Commands, and protecting the Liberty of the Subject are incompatible? Or should that ever be the Case, which it is almost infamous even to suppose, what Inducement have these Incendiaries to imagine, that Men of Honour would sacrifice the Liberties of those they represent, to little transitory Advantages for themselves? But alas! Men are too apt to judge of others by the Experience of the Dictates of their own base Hearts. If then there are any such, who appear'd zealous in the Cause of Liberty with Expectation of Reward; if they pursued the same Course while they enjoyed the Sun-shine of

the Court; if the Price of the Continuance of the same Zeal be notoriously known, and *that* being refused, if the Experience of their Actions, in Contradiction to the whole Tenor of their former Lives, explains the Reason of their former Behaviour; if there be any such, it is not to be wonder'd that they should labour to bring down the rest of Mankind to the Level of their own Infamy. Till when, they must be content to undergo the Contempt and Scorn of the old Friends they have forsaken, and be made the Ridicule, as well as the Tools, of the new ones they would fain engage.

Having thus endeavour'd to blast the Honour of the House of Commons, these *Incendiaries* proceed to the other Branch of the Legislature. But here the *Pack of Judges*, as they are civilly pleased to call them, must be attacked by the way; and the *Bench of Bishops* must be singled from the rest of that noble Body, to receive particular Marks of their Resentment. Nor need any Man be at a Loss for the Reasons of this Procedure, who considers the uniform Tenor of all their Actions. As the foreign *Enemies* of the State, have been all along the *Favourites* of the *Faction*, and the *Allies* of this Nation been treated as *their Enemies*; so, to be conformable in domestick Affairs, they have ever shown their greatest Malice against such as are the chief Ornaments of their Profession, and do the most Credit to the Stations they possess. Thus their Rage against the Judges proceeds from their Anger, that the known Abilities of those who now fill the Bench, their great Experience in the Laws, and their just and equitable Execution of them, give not the least room for complaining of Oppression, and consequently no Handle to the Incendiaries to encourage Sedition. From the like Foundation proceeds their Displeasure against the Bench of Bishops; as their Learning and Piety give no room to complain of the Choice their late and present Majesties have made in their Promotion, so the steady Affection they have shewn to the State, leaves the Faction no Hopes of Clamour and Sedition from that Quarter, which has formerly been so serviceable on the like Occasions. Nor does their Malice stop here; but as the Authors
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of the *Craftsman* have recommended to the People, to follow the Precedent that was put in Practice against the *De Wits* in *Holland*, by assassinating our Ministers here; so their Fellow-labourer *Fogg* has given the like infamous Advice with regard to the whole Body of the Peerage. Thus have these *Incendiaries*, in a most flagitious manner, endeavour'd to incite others, as profligate as themselves, to destroy the Persons of those, whose Reputations they have with so much Zeal, but with so little Success, attempted to murder.

While the Faction went on in practising the little Arts of antiquated Prudes, and endeavour'd to establish a Reputation of their own, by destroying that of all their Friends and Acquaintance; the natural Curiosity of Mankind, and the Bent we may observe in most People to desire to see their Superiors of any Kind reduced to a Level with themselves, made these Libels be read with some Degree of Patience. That Great and Good Man, Lord Chief Justice H A L E, on the Loss of some of his Children, when he was himself in a very advanc'd Age, observ'd with great Patience and Humility, that such Losses are *Fines* Mankind must pay to Heaven for the Blessing of long Life: And we may with as great Justice pronounce, that *Obloquy* and *Slander*, *Envy* and *Malice*, are the Evils which Ministers must endure, as necessary Attendants of a long Series of Favour and Prosperity. As such they consider'd them, and as such they despised them. It is not the Accusation, but the Truth of it, which gives the Wound; and an innocent Man feels no more Pain from the publishing a false Slander, than the Slanderer gains Credit by inventing the Falshood.

Thus these *Libels* were tolerated and endured; the Envious and the Malicious read them with Pleasure, the Indolent and Unwary with Patience. The Professions of Loyalty to the King, and Attachment to his illustrious House, might for a while impose on the giddy Multitude; and the secret, villainous Designs of these *Incendiaries* pass undiscovered. Men might consider the Controversy as a Dispute, between private Persons for Power, tho' even

even that was carry'd on in a shameful and ungentleman-like Manner. But now the thin Veil of Loyalty is thrown off, and Sedition and Treason stalk abroad in their own odious Colours, Men begin to be astonish'd how they could thus long have been deceived with idle Pretences to *Patriotism* and the *Love of Liberty*; when they see the Reigns of the worst of Tyrants, produced as *Parallels* to the best of Kings; when they see the Arts of Peace represented as the Effects of Pusillanimity, tho' practised merely for the Welfare of his People, by a Prince distinguished throughout *Europe* for his military Virtue; when they see the Struggles our Ancestors have made for their Liberties by Force of Arms, against the Usurpations of arbitrary Tyrants, recommended as Examples for our Imitation, against a Prince who knows no Fear but that of injuring the least of his Subjects; when they see the Reigns of the weakest of our Princes compared to that of his present Majesty, who hears indeed the Advice of his Ministers, but whose own Judgment can best chuse, and whose own Heart is most strongly inclined to follow that which is most for the Ease and Welfare of his People; when this King is threatened with Sedition and Rebellion, unless he forthwith discharges those Counsellors he at present trusts, and whom he has ever found faithful, in order to place the *Patrons* of those Incendiaries in their room; when these things appear flagrant, and are obvious to the meanest Capacities, Mankind are shock'd, not only at the Impiety, but Impudence of these abandon'd *Pretenders* to superior Virtue. Even the Envious and Malicious begin to fear what may be their Share of the Miseries these Wretches are labouring to bring upon their Country; the Curious and Inquisitive are no longer at a Loss to find out their Designs, and consequently no longer believe their groundless Insinuations; the Honest, the Indolent, and the Unwary, are roused from their Security, and a just Indignation makes them concern'd that our excellent Laws should prove a Sanctuary for these artful Revilers and hypocritical Dispersers of Treason.

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One Set of Men indeed there are among us, who rejoice in the Treason, tho' they despise the Traytors; their drooping Spirits are again reviv'd; those who were before despised and almost forgotten, who were in their own Country as Strangers and Vagabonds in a foreign Land, after many fruitless Struggles to subject their Country to a strange and vagabond Prince, begin again to triumph and exult; and to their usual Impatience and imprudent Zeal, I am verily persuaded it is we owe the immature Discovery of the secret Engagements these pretended Patriots must have enter'd into. The Assistance of the Jacobites must be made Use of by them, to mount those Heights which their boundless Ambition prompted them to climb; but that Assistance was not to be had, till the *Rubicon* was pass'd, and their Retreat made impracticable. The Jacobites refused to receive these Incendiaries or their Patrons, as their new and firm Allies, till they had given convincing Proofs, (to use an Epithet of the *Craftsman*) that they were not so far Germaniz'd, as to submit any longer to that Family, whom they treat as Tyrants and Usurpers.

As Prudence ought to have restrained these Incendiaries from vilifying their lawful Sovereign, so ought Shame to forbid them insulting and calumniating the best of Queens: But as the whole Tenor of their Conduct must have convinced the World how little Share they have of the former, so this barbarous Part of their Proceeding, has shewn, to a Demonstration, how entirely lost they must be to all Sense of the latter. Their Behaviour in this Respect is indeed shocking, but very far from surprizing. Can they be touch'd with her exalted Piety in refusing the Grandeur of this World for the sake of true Religion, who have sacrificed all the Ties of Honour and Conscience to their own boundless Ambition? Can they be Admirers of her social Virtues, and inviolable conjugal Affection, who have renounced the Welfare of the Society they live in, and the most sacred Bonds of Friendship? Can they look with Pleasure on her maternal Love, and pious Care in the Education of her numerous Offspring, who are themselves regardless of the Welfare of their own, provided

provided they can satisfy their immediate Thirst of Power or of Revenge? In fine, can *they* who are thus labouring to disturb the Reign, and destroy the Quiet of their King, bear with Patience, that the least Regard should be shewn to her Majesty, whose Interest as well as Inclination must necessarily bind her to contribute her Endeavours to make the Crown fit easy on his Head, whose Image she wears in her Heart, and to transmit it with Safety and Honour to their joint Posterity.

After these Reflections on the extraordinary Methods by which these Disputes have been carried on, I will only say a Word or two as to what these *Libellers* alledge in their own Vindication; and I think they offer but two Arguments for that Purpose: The first is, That the Spirit of Liberty, which they profess, and the glorious Struggles to preserve that Liberty in former Ages, are the Things to which we owe our present Felicity, and therefore proper to be recommended at this Time. The second, which they alledge in Justification of the personal Insults and Invectives, against particular Persons, is drawn from the Examples of former Pamphleteers, of which Number they sometimes intimate the Persons they traduce to have been a Part.

As to the first Argument they produce, it cannot be denied but that the Spirit of Liberty is the distinguishing Characteristick of a *True Briton*, and to that we owe the superior Advantages this Nation enjoys above all the Kingdoms of the Earth. But there is a wide Difference between the Spirit of *Liberty* and the Spirit of *Sedition*. One is indeed jealous of the least Invasion of our civil or religious Rights, and ready on all Occasions to exert with Courage and Vigour against all Attempts to subvert and destroy them: But tho' she be thus bold in Times of Danger, she is of a meek and quiet Disposition, while we enjoy those Blessings in Peace and Tranquillity; submissive to the Laws of the Land, and obedient and thankful to the Prince, by whose Goodness and Wisdom these Blessings are secured. On the other hand, the Spirit of Sedition is ever suspicious and uneasy without a Cause, loud and clamorous in the midst of Peace and Prosperity; pays an unwilling

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Obedience to the Laws, and is never so unhappy as when she can have no Pretence to murmur against the Prince: The Man possessed with this Spirit, must needs be unhappy, whilst he has no Relish of the Blessings he enjoys himself, under an Apprehension that his Neighbour is greater and happier than he. The Distinction that has been frequently made between a Man of true Honour and a Bully, seems very apposite on this Occasion. The *Man of Honour* is incapable of bearing to be insulted, but is not like the *Bully*, apprehensive of it from every Man he meets: He is conscious of his own inward Courage on a proper Occasion, and this renders him peaceable and quiet in Company, without bragging of his Prowess; he is ready and willing to resent an undeserved Affront, but is studious and careful to avoid deserving it, by a turbulent and unmannerly Behaviour; and tho' he be never so skilful in the Management of his Sword, yet he lets it lie quiet in the Scabbard, till his King, his Country, or his Honour demand it, and does not make a Flourish at the Corner of every Street, like one of the Heroes of *Figg's Amphitheatre*.

The glorious Struggles for Liberty which we read in our Histories, will ever be remember'd with Honour to the Persons concerned in them, and with Pleasure by all those who enjoy the happy Consequences of them as they ought. But tho' on proper Occasions, it may be necessary to use so harsh a Remedy, yet 'tis the Occasion only can justify the Prescription. A nauseous Draught, or an acute Operation, may be absolutely requisite in a dangerous Distemper; and the Physician, who by these Means restores his Patient to his former Health of Constitution, will ever be remember'd with Gratitude and Esteem: But it would be difficult for a Quack, who acts like a Monkey, merely from Imitation, to prevail upon any Person in perfect Health, to receive his daily Food out of an Apothecary's Shop, and be cupp'd and scarify'd every Morning, by way of Prevention. No Man in *Britain* is more sensible of the Blessings we enjoy in consequence of the late glorious Revolution, or is more thankful to that

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Providence, and those noble Patriots by whom it was effected, than myself; But I am far from thinking him a *Patriot* who desires *another Revolution*; and that *he* certainly does, who attempts to raise Discontent, Sedition, and Rebellion, at a Time when we are blessed with the full Enjoyment of our Civil and Religious Liberties, under a Prince who owes his Title to that glorious Event, and gives us daily Cause to shew our Gratitude, not only to himself, but to the Memory of our late *Immortal Deliverer*.

Whoever reads the History of *England*, will find we have had many Struggles, and much Bloodshed, which cannot be placed to the Account of a *Spirit* of Liberty: Where Power was contended for more than Property, and the Dispute was who should oppress, rather than who should relieve their Countrymen from Oppression. Such were the Contests between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*; and such were many of the Struggles in former Ages, which took their Rise from the Disappointment, Ambition, and Revenge of some of the powerful and haughty Nobles of those Days. If any Struggles then are to be recommended, I would be glad to know of what Nature those are, the Authors of the *Craftsman* would propose for our Imitation: It cannot be any of those glorious ones in behalf of Liberty, for *that* we enjoy in the highest Degree: Those about a contested Title to the Crown, whatever their real Wishes may be, I am apt to believe they will be very cautious how they recommend: And as to the last of those I mentioned, I can never believe there is Vanity enough in any one Man, or any Set of Men, to imagine that the good People of *England* would stir a little Finger in order to make a Struggle to gratify the Ambition or Revenge of the most haughty among them. The *Strugglers* of former Days were not only *haughty*, but noble, and powerful; great in their Descent, their Alliances, and Possessions; a kind of petty Princes themselves, whose Tenants and Vassals were obliged by their Tenures to attend their Persons, and obey their Commands, without enquiring into the Motives: But, Thanks be to God, the Nature of those Tenures is now at an End, and every *Briton* may call what he has his own, without that

that slavish Dependence on the Caprice of another. Since therefore the Noble and the Powerful are out of the Question, and Wit and Parts are their only Weapons and Defence, I would advise the Authors of the *Craftsman*, not to expect too many Followers of the Haughty, the Ambitious, and the Revengeful. And I cannot frame to myself a more ridiculous Idea, than to see the *Wat Tylers* and *Jack Straws* of our Days, strutting and swelling till they fancy they resemble the *Northumberlands* and *Warwicks* of old, and that they can, like them, make and unmake Kings at their Pleasure.

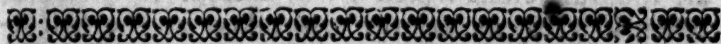
I now proceed to the other Argument they use in Justification of personal Insults, and private Scandal, which they draw from the Example of former Pamphleteers. I allow, that in the Reigns of King *Charles* and King *James the Second*, great Liberties were taken with the Persons in Power, and even with the Prince on the Throne: Nay, even at the latter End of the Reign of Queen *Anne*, the Pamphlets abounded in very great Freedoms with regard to her Ministers: But those Freedoms extended no farther than to the Measures they pursu'd, and sprung from the just Dread and Apprehensions the People of *England* were under of the Ruin that was coming upon them. When the Fears of Popery and arbitrary Power were so strong, it was no Wonder the Expressions of those who were endeavouring to alarm the People, and encourage them to resist their Enslavers, were strong in Proportion to the Danger. Thanks be to God, it had its Effect, and the People had the Courage to oppose the Tyrant, and bring about the Revolution. But the Authors of the *Craftsman* must first shew the like Cause of Apprehension, and own the like Design, before they will be justify'd by what passed in *those* Reigns, for having in a more outrageous manner calumniated *this*. In the latter End of Queen *Anne's* Reign the same dreadful Apprehensions arose; and I believe there is hardly a Man that remembers those Times, but is convinced there was as much Foundation for them: Then again the *Spirit* of Liberty arose, and those who were endeavouring to destroy us were treated as our Destroyers. But the *Craftsman* must again

again shew the Parallel, or go without his Justification. To my Apprehension it seems the Reverse, and as the Pamphleteers of those Days endeavoured to alarm the People from the Danger they were in lest the *Hanover Succession* should not take place, the Labours of the *Craftsman* appear to be all pointed to convince them that they cannot be worse than now *that Succession* has happily taken place. But having said thus much partly by way of Defence, or rather Excuse, for the Freedoms that have been formerly taken, I think I may venture to say, that I could undertake to produce more scurrilous Language, more private Scandal, and more ungentleman-like Abuse, out of the Libels of the Three or Four last Years, than can possibly be shewn in all the polemical Writings of the three Reigns I have mentioned.

And this being the Case, I beg leave to say a Word or two of what I take to be the real Cause of this different Manner of treating political Controversies. It has been long the Misfortune of this Nation to be divided into Parties, which have been at Variance with each other on account of some Principles; each of which have been all along represented by the other in the most invidious Lights. And as most of the political Disputes have been managed by those who thus differ'd; so most of the Satire and Reflection has been levelled at the opposite Party, and their Tenets in *general*, rather than at the Persons or Crimes of *particular* Men. But the Case at present is widely different: Our modern Disputes have risen, and been managed by those, who publicly at least, profess the same Principles with those they oppose, and consequently can have no Dislike to them on that account. What then must they do to justify their Opposition? Their private Motives are perhaps unfit to be mentioned, or perhaps would not redound to their Honour: and thus a fatal Necessity has driven them into a Method, which I am persuaded many of them dislike in their Hearts; and they are forced by personal Abuse, and private Scandal, to justify their differing, not only from their former Friends, but from their own former Conduct and Behaviour: And I can't help pitying the Case of a Man of Sense, who is reduced so
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low, as to be capable of so much Meanness, as to mention on any Occasion the Loss of a *Tooth*, or an ungenteel *Cock* of a *Hat* as an Objection to a Minister.

This Proceeding may be treated with Pity or Contempt; but when these Incendiaries are grown so audacious to go farther, and justify their own Conduct by Insults and Reflections on their Prince; when they are daily labouring to incense the People, and involve Numbers in the Guilt of their own seditious Practices, Indignation ought to take place of Pity, and they ought to be punish'd instead of despis'd. The more daring and Insolent the Enemies of the Government appear, the more ought the real Friends of it to unite and exert: And as all I have said has arisen from a real Sense of my Duty to my King and my Country; so I shall look upon my self as amply rewarded, if any thing I have said can contribute to give the alarm to any one *English* Gentleman, to warn him of the Danger these Incendiaries are unawares leading the People into, by insensibly endeavouring to lessen the Honour and Duty they owe to so good a Prince; and preparing their Minds for such Seditions and Tumults, as the Artful and the Profligate shall think it their Interest to foment.



The CRAFTSMAN of May 22, 1731.

Mr. D'ANVERS,

SINCE you have gone through the Task, which you undertook at my Desire, and have carried your *Remarks on the History of England* as far as you judge them necessary at this Time, I think my self obliged to return you Thanks for your Trouble, and to say something to you concerning the Clamour rais'd, and the Conduct held upon this

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Occasion, by *Those*, who not content with the Merit of being your *Adversaries*, have declared themselves such at last to the very Being of the *British Constitution*, and to the Principles on which the *present Establishment* is built, and on which alone it can stand secure.

Before I left the Town, nay, as soon as my *first Letter* to you appeared, the whole Posse of *ministerial Scribblers* was summoned. Their Numbers were augmented; perhaps their Pensions. Their Strength, indeed, continued much the same; but their Fury redoubled. At my Return to *London*, I am inform'd, that these *weekly Swarms* have continued to buz about ever since; that the *Insects* have been dispersed by every Flap of your Pen; but that, like *true Insects*, they have still gather'd again, and renewed their Din.-----I say, that I am inform'd of This; because, among other Circumstances, which compose the Ease and Quiet of a Country Life, we are sure of not being infested there by these mighty Swarms of *little Creatures*. As their Lives are short, the Extent in which they ramble is narrow, and few of them take their Flight beyond the Bills of Mortality.

The Manner in which *these Writers* have supported the Dispute between *You* and *them*, and the Explanations to which they have been push'd, confirm all the Suspicions which it was natural to entertain, when so great an Alarm was taken at the first direct Avowal of an Attempt to revive the *Spirit of Liberty*, and to recall to the Minds of Men the true Notions of the *British Constitution*. They were so earnest to discourage the Prosecution of such a Design; They were so eager to find Fault, where so little Fault was to be found, that they catch'd at every Word in which they imagin'd the least Slip had been made, though the Subject would not have been affected, nor the Merits of the Cause have been altered, if these Slips had been real, and had proceeded from my Ignorance, as the Objections proceeded from theirs.

I should not so much as mention this, if it was not necessary to shew that your real Crime, as well as mine, toward the *Persons* who encourage and direct

direct *those Authors*, is our starting the *Subject*, not our *Manner* of treating it. Their Anger appeared, the Clamour of their Party was raised, and all the Powers of Scurrility and Calumny were call'd forth to their Aid, before any of those Pretences were found out, which they afterwards so meanly and so immorally employ'd against us. To prove this beyond the Contradiction of any Man of Sense and Candour, it will be only necessary to appeal to the whole Scope of my *first Letters* to you, which raised the Storm; for what do *those Letters* contain besides general and inoffensive Reflections on the Nature of *Liberty* and of *Faction*, and of the Necessity of keeping the *Spirit of Liberty* alive and active, even in Times of apparent Security? Your Writings were justified, indeed, in *these Letters*; but so they had been in *others*, and on many precedent Occasions. The Charge of *Jacobitism* was refuted, indeed, with the Contempt it deserved, and *factionous Designs* of another Kind were pointed out; but *factionous Designs* had been imputed to the *same Persons* before, and upon the same Ground. It remains then, that this *new Alarm* was taken, as I just now said, at the general Design of *those Papers*; and if that was sufficient to give such an Alarm, sure I am, that you are more than justified for all you writ before this Dispute begun, and for all you have published in the Course of it.

The *old Gentleman*, who defended you in your *former Letters*, thought you deserved the Acknowledgments of every honest Man, for attempting to revive *this Spirit*, even supposing you to have no other Reason than your Observation, that a *contrary Temper* prevailed. How much is this Reason enforced, how much more do you deserve the Acknowledgment of every honest Man, if it is become evident, not only that a *supine Temper*, contrary to the Activity of *this Spirit* had prevailed; but that a *contrary Spirit* hath been raised; and that *Principles*, destructive of all *Liberty*, and particularly adapted to destroy that of the *British Government*, are avowed, taught and propagated?--- If I pronounced too hastily in my *second Letter*, that the *Mask was pulled off*, surely we may now say, upon

Knowledge, not Belief, *that the Mask is fallen off from your Adversaries* in the Scuffle. I shall not repeat what is said in your Discourses, nor add any thing to them. You have there quoted the *Doctrines of Slavery*. You have shew'd the direct and indirect Tendency of them all; and you have remark'd that *some* of them have been taught even by *Those* who have in the same Breath admitted the *Consequences* of them. Nothing less therefore than a *constant* and *vigorous Opposition*, of which you have set us the Example, will be able to stop the Progress of those *pernicious Doctrines*. The *Principles* which King *James I.* established, were not more absurd than *these*. Their Tendency was more obvious; but, for that Reason they were less dangerous. If *those Principles* prevail'd very far by Time and Encouragement, and had like to have prevail'd farther; why should not *these* have the same or greater Success? It may be said, perhaps, that the Authority of the *Crown* help'd the Progress of the *former*, which is not our *present Case*. To this Distinction I shall submit very readily; but if *these Principles* have gain'd some Ground already (and that they have gain'd some, cannot be deny'd) without *this Authority* to enforce them; is there not Reason to fear that they may gain more, and is not every Degree they gain, a Degree more of Danger to this Constitution of Government?—Surely Mr. *D'Anvers*, there can remain no Doubt in the Breast of any Man, who hath given the least Attention to the Disputes between *You* and your *Adversaries*, whether *They* or *You* are on the Side of *Liberty*; and therefore it is an Aggravation of their Guilt, that they have endeavoured to make *your Writings* pass for an Opposition to the *present, happy Establishment*, and their Cause for that of the *Crown*. You and I have sufficiently declared our selves, and answered them on the *first Head*. If they had been able to produce an Instance, where, departing from your *Subject*, you had given Occasion to draw any *odious Parallel*, the Intention of drawing such a *Parallel* might with some Colour have been imputed to You; but since they have not been able to do this, and have been defied to do it, the Reproach and Infamy of making *such Paral-*

Parallels, as well as the scandalous Immorality of imputing them to others, must lye at their Door.---- Let us see how well their Pretensions are supported on the *second Head*, and whether we cannot prove, without any forc'd Constructions of their Words, or arbitrary Interpretations of their Meaning, that the open and secret Abettors of *these Writers* are either Enemies of the *present Establishment*, or have some *private Interest* more at Heart than the true Interest of *this Establishment*.

This Establishment is founded on the Principles of *Liberty*; on the very Principles you have maintained. It was made by the People of *Great Britain*, to secure the Possession of their *Liberty*, as well as their *Religion*. Had contrary Principles prevail'd; either those, which tend to subvert the Constitution, by raising *Prerogative*, and which were justly objected to some of the *Tories* formerly; or those which tend to subvert it, by undermining *Liberty*, and which are as justly objected to some of the *Whigs* now; *this Establishment* could never have been made. Who are *Enemies* and who are *Friends* therefore to *publick Liberty*, and to the *present Establishment*? Are you their Enemy, who defend not only the general Principles of *Liberty*, but the particular Principles, and the particular Ends, on which, and for which *this Establishment* was made? Are your *Adversaries* Friends to either, when they only seem to admit some general Notions of *Liberty*, that they may promote with greater Effect, on particular Occasions, the Doctrine of *Slavery*; and when they endeavour to destroy the Principles, and defeat the Ends of the *present Establishment*? The *Revolution*, and the *Acts of Settlement*, have secured us against the Dangers which were formerly apprehended from *Prerogative*. To what Purpose are *Measures*, and Principles of *Policy* daily pleaded for, which would expose us to greater Danger than *these*? Why are such incessant Pains taken to shew by what Means *Liberty* may be undermin'd, and our *Constitution* destroyed, even now, after all we have done, and all we have suffered to secure *one*, and to improve the *other*? I shall not give particular Answers to these Questions; nor offer to assign the private Inter-

rest, which the *Persons*, who are guilty of this, may have at Heart; for I will upon no Occasion, even seem to follow the Example of your *Adversaries*; nor presume to deliver my Suspicions, tho' real and well grounded, as the Intentions of other Men. This alone I will repeat; that they who argue, and hire others to argue in this Manner, do in Fact promote some Interest, which is repugnant to the Ends for which the People of this Nation establish'd the *Protestant Succession*, and the *present Settlement of the Crown*. They have not yet attack'd the *Religion*, but they manifestly attack the *Liberty* of their Country; and as much as these Two are interwoven together, though it be true, that whenever our *Religion* is in Danger, our *civil Liberty* must be so likewise; yet it is as true that *Religion* may be safe and *civil Liberty* in Danger.

I have nothing more to add upon *this Head*, before I proceed to That, which shall conclude my Letter, except my Desires that you will persist, and my Hopes that you will succeed in the *Cause* you have undertaken; the Cause of your Country; the Cause of *Truth* and of *Liberty*. The Means you employ are those of *Argument* and *Persuasion*; the lawful, and the sole lawful Means, which can be employed to rouse an indolent, to inform a deceived, to reclaim a corrupt, or to reconcile a divided People. Let the *Factions* continue to assert, as they have had already the Impudence and the Folly to do, in one of their *ministerial Pamphlets*, that the Faults they are pleased to ascribe to the People of *Great Britain* * render an *ARMY* necessary. Instead of endeavouring to *persuade* and to *win*, let them endeavour to *force* and *corrupt* their Countrymen. The *Spirit of Liberty* abhors such Means, and the *Cause of Liberty* would be dishonour'd by them. If this Nation was as *corrupt* and *depraved* as it is said to be by *Those*, who do their utmost to *corrupt* and *deprave* it; if our Country was in that *declining State*, and the *Freedom of the Government* as near its Period as they affirm, there would remain no Part for any honest Man

* See *Some Observations on the present State of Affairs*.

Man to take, except that of sitting silently down and perishing in the common Shipwreck: But surely this is not yet our Case, nor will it become our Case, unless we are induced to believe it so; unless we make our Ruin irretrievable by struggling no longer against it. There are Men, many we think, who have not bowed the Knee to *Baal*, nor worshipp'd the *brazen Image*. We may therefore hope that there is still a Blessing in Store for us. In all Events, Mr. *D'Anvers*, you are sure of one Advantage, which no Violence, no Injustice can take from you; the inward Satisfaction of having serv'd your Country, to the utmost of your Power, by those *lawful Means*, which the Constitution of its Government allows, and by *no others*.

If I hear in that Retreat, to which Age, the Circumstances of Fortune, and, above all, the Temper of my Mind determines me, that you succeed, I shall rejoice in the common Joy. If I hear that you fail, my Concern for you will be lost in the common Calamity.

The Article with which I purpose to conclude my Letter, is of such a Nature that I cannot omit it, on this Occasion, with any Regard to Truth, Justice, Honour, and the Sentiments of a most reasonable Indignation: The Writers, who are employed against you, have received, with an unlimited Commission to rail, particular Instructions to direct their *Billingsgate* chiefly at *two Gentlemen*. The Art of blackening Characters, by private Closet Whispers, hath been always practis'd, when Power and Confidence hath been given to the *insolent* and the *base*. Perhaps it may have been thought proper, at this Time, to confirm the Effects of such Insinuations by an Echo from the *PRESS*, and to prevent a general, national Clamour from sounding in *some Ears*, by raising an artificial Clamour round about them; but whatever the Design may have been, sure I am, that this Strain of Malice could not have been employed against Men, who value it less, or who hold in greater Contempt both the Contrivance and the Contrivers. This *they* may do, because they are falsely and maliciously accused; but *he*, who is the Object of a just Clamour, and of national Hatred,

and who cannot turn his Eyes on himself without confessing to himself, that he is a principal Cause of the Grievances of his Country, must tremble at a Clamour which he knows ought, and which he hath Reason to fear will, sooner or later, prevail against him.

The Calumny against *one* of the Gentlemen, mentioned above, is confin'd to *two Heads*; that he hath left *his Friends and Party*, and that he is urged to oppose the *M——r* by the *Stings of disappointed Ambition*. How ridiculous is the Charge, and on whom can such Stuff impose? Hath he changed his Notions of Right and Wrong in Matters of Government? Hath he renounced the Principles of good Policy, which he formerly profess'd? His greatest Enemy is defy'd to shew that he hath; and yet unless this can be shewn, nothing can be more impertinent, or more silly, than the Imputation of leaving his *Friends and Party*. If he pursues the same general Principles of Conduct, with which he first set out, and is in Opposition now to some few of *those*, with whom he concurred then, *they* have left him, because they have left the *Principles* they professed. *He* left *neither*. For Instance, He inveighs against *publick Profusion* and *private Corruption*. He combats *both* with a constant Inflexibility, which might have done Honour to a *Roman Citizen*, in the best Times of that Commonwealth. Hath he left his *Friends* in doing this? No; they, who opposed him in it, have left both *him* and *Virtue*; and *such Men*, tho' they have sometimes had the Honour to concur with *him*, could never be his *Friends*.

Is the *latter* Part of the Charge better founded? Is it not a manifest begging of the Question, and begging of it on the least probable Side? He assisted a *M——r* to rise to Power. He opposes *this M——r* in Power. *Ergo*, *Spite* and *Resentment* are his Motives. May not the *Abuse*, which he apprehends this *M——r* makes of his *Power*, may not *Measures*, which he fears are wicked, knows are weak, and sees obstinately pursued, be his Motives? May not *dangerous Ambition*, *insatiable Avarice*, and *insolent Behaviour*, be his Provocations? May not *this Gentleman* think himself the more obliged to contribute

to *this M——r's* Fall, for having contributed so much to his Elevation? Let me ask farther, *whom* we shall soonest suspect to have been actuated by Sentiments of *private Interest*; the *Person accus'd*, or his *Accuser*? *whose Circumstances* most demanded, *whose Family* most required an Increase of Wealth and Fortune; those of the *Accused*, or those of the *Accuser*? *Who* hath given greater Proofs of *Avarice* to gather, and *Profusion* to squander; the *Accused*, or the *Accuser*? in *Whom* have we seen strongest Evidences of that *vindictive Temper*, which prompts to *personal Spite* and *Resentment*? In the *Accused*, or the *Accusers*? — If we may form any Judgment of the *Gentleman accused*, there is not the least Colour of Reason to suppose that his *Opposition* proceeds from a Spirit of *Ambition*, or a Design of pushing himself into the *Administration*. He hath already possessed *two very considerable Employments* in the State; one of which he voluntarily laid down, as by his Conduct in *Parliament*, against some Measures of the *Court*, he forced the *Ministers* to take the *other* away, having behaved with unspotted Integrity in *both*; and if I am rightly inform'd of his Resolution by those, who seem to know him very well, it will hardly be ever in the Power of the greatest Man in *England*, or the best Friend he has in the World, to persuade him to accept of a *Third*. — There is an *Ambition*, with which *these Spreaders of Calumny* and their *Masters* are intirely unacquainted! the *Ambition* of *doing Good*, and receiving the Reward in *Fame*. He, who hath *this Ambition*, can never be disappointed in the *other*; and if any Man, in our Age and Country hath Reason to be satisfied with his Success in the Pursuit of *this Ambition*, it is the *Gentleman* of whom we speak.

Whenever the *Defamation* which hath been *display'd* against the *other Gentleman*, is examined with the least Knowledge of Facts, or the least Impartiality of Judgment, it will appear equally false, and, perhaps, still more scandalous; for in *this Case*, the *Slanderers* take an ungenerous and mean Advantage, which they have not in the *other*; the Advantage which his singular Situation gives them. They who would have declin'd a Contest with him, whilst he

was

was in a Condition to answer for himself, have not blush'd to declaim against him in another Condition. They have experienc'd in *his Case*, that the *Unfortunate* are not *Friendless*. They may live, perhaps, to experience in *their own*, that the *Guilty* are so. — Another Advantage which *these Slanderers* take against *this Gentleman*, arises from the various Scenes of Life, through which he hath pass'd; some distant in Place; some secret in their Nature. Here Calumny hath more room to assert, and Innocence less Opportunity to defend. Common Honesty in some Cases, and even Decency in others, shut the Mouth of the Man who carries these Qualities about him; and even more in his *own Case* than in that of *another Person*; but Calumny is subject to none of these Controuls; and we speak on our own Knowledge, when we affirm that, in the *present Case*, the false Imputations, which the *Accusers* bring, are screen'd from absolute Detection by nothing but the Honour of the *Accused*.

Let us take Notice of some of the Crimes (for Crimes and heinous Crimes they would be, if the Facts were, in any Degree true) which are laid to the Charge of *this Gentleman*.

His *Ingratitude and Treachery* to the late Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin stand first in the Roll. I believe no Man acknowledges more sincerely than He, the superior Merit of these *two illustrious Men*, or wishes more ardently that They were now alive, and had the Conduct of the Affairs of *Great Britain*; but I know no *Obligation of Gratitude*, or *Honour*, which he lay under to continue in their Administration, when the Measures of it were *alter'd*. They might have Reasons, perhaps good Reasons, for *altering their Measures*. He could have none in Point of *Honour*, whatever he might have in Point of *Interest*, for complying with *that Alteration*. Some of the Enemies of *this Gentleman* came into the World on such a *Foot*, that they might think it Preferment to be the *Creatures of any Men in Power*. He who came into it upon *another Foot*, was the *Friend*, but not the *Creature* of these *great Men*, and he had the Satisfaction of proving himself such on different Occasions, and without

Often.

Ostentation, and at least to *one* of them, at a Time when the *Creatures of great Men* usually renounce them; at a Time when they could do him neither Good nor Hurt. That he came to Court on the Call of the *late Queen*, in Opposition to *them*, and exerted himself in her Service, when they served her no longer, will not be objected to him by any Man who thinks more Allegiance due to the *Prince* than to the *Minister*. If the present *M—r* hath a Mind to avow a contrary Doctrine, he hath my Consent; but then let those who engage with him remember on what Terms they engage.—— On the same false Principle is another *Accusation* brought. This *Gentleman* had no Patron, or Patroness, but the *late Queen*. He neither *projected*, nor *procured the Disgrace* of her *last Minister*, nor knew that it was resolved, whatever he might suspect, till he heard from herself that it was so. Much more might be said on this Article; but we chuse to pass it over for many Reasons, and, among others, for this; that whilst we defend the *Living*, we are unwilling to say any thing, which might be drawn by *these Slanderers* into an Insult on the *Dead*.

The last Charge of *Ingratitude* brought against *this Gentleman*, is hard to be answered seriously. Thus much however shall be said truly and seriously. He acknowledges, with the deepest Sense of Gratitude possible, the Clemency and Goodness of his *late Majesty*; but sure he hath Reason, if ever Man had Reason, to disclaim all Obligation to the *M—r*. The Mercy of the *late King* was extended unto him unasked and unearn'd. What followed many Years afterwards, in Part of his Majesty's gracious Intentions, was due solely to the *King*. That they were not fulfilled, was due solely to the *M—r*. His Ambition, his causeless Jealousy, and private Interest, continued a sort of *Proscription*, with much Cruelty to the *Person* concerned, and little Regard to the Declarations which his *Royal Master* had been pleased so frequently to make.

That *this Gentleman* was engaged in the Cause of the *Pretender*, is true. That he served him unfaithfully, is false. He never enter'd into *these Engagements*, or any *Commerce with him*, till he had been
attainted,

attainted, and cut off from the Body of his Majesty's Subjects. He never had any *Commerce*, either direct, or indirect, which was inconsistent with *these Engagements*, whilst he continued in them; and since he was out of them, he hath had no *Commerce*, either direct or indirect, in Favour of *that Cause*. On such an Occasion as this it is decent, not arrogant, to challenge all Mankind. I do it therefore in the Behalf of *this Gentleman*, to produce one single Proof in Contradiction of any one of these general Affirmations. For the Truth of some, I may appeal even to *those* who have been in the Service of his *late*, and are in that of his *present Majesty*; and particularly to a *noble Lord*, who, by the Post he was in, when most of these Transactions passed, must have had the best Opportunity of knowing the Truth of them, and by whose Testimony I am willing that the *Gentleman* I defend should stand or fall; a Decision to which, I am sure, he himself will be ready to submit his *Life*, and, what is more, his *Honour*.

I make you no Excuse for the Length of my Letter. The Justice I have done, or endeavour'd to do to *those* who have been vilely calumniated, and particularly on the Occasion of *your Writings*, and of *mine*, will be a sufficient Excuse of itself.

I am,

S I R,

H. OLDCASTLE.

REMARKS



REMARKS on the CRAFTSMAN'S *Vindication.*

THE *Mask is indeed taken off.* The CRAFTSMAN hath openly avowed the Conduct of the late Lord B——ke: The vindictive and merciless Hand, whose flaming Zeal against all wicked Ministers hath so long pointed the Dagger at another Gentleman's Breast, hath so long threaten'd the Axe to that Minister's Head, and solemnly sworn to pursue him even to Destruction: This Roman-spirited Patriot, as he modestly affects to call himself; even He! with astonishing Meekness, espouses the Cause, and vindicates the Character of a Person attainted of *High Treason*: A Person, who by his own Confession fled from the *Justice of his Country*; and who, by the Confession of his *trusty Advocate*, enlisted himself in the Service of the PRETENDER.

This is the Man opposed to the Person whom two succeeding Princes have honoured with their Favour, and trusted with their Power. Since then this upright Gentleman who now is Candidate for that Grace and Trust, hath, by his ingenious Advocate, offered himself to the Trial of his Country; since he puts his Honour upon their Examination; since he insolently challenges all Mankind to prove that Guilt against his Character, for which he fled the Kingdom, and forfeited his Honours: Let us therefore accept this Challenge; let us examine that weak, that foolish and slavish Defence which the Craftsman hath given in his Name.

It is said, That they who would have declined a Contest with him, whilst he was in a Condition to answer for himself, have not blushed to declaim against him in another Condition. Ridiculous and trifling Pretence! Whilst he was in a Condition to answer for himself, why did he not answer? Who disabled him to answer? Who declined the Contest but himself? Who abandoned the Trial but himself? He first ignominiously flies from publick Justice; he then pretends, that his Accusers would never have met him at that Bar: Which, had it been his real Opinion, guilty as he was, he would not have fled; and had he been innocent, though his Accusers would have met him, yet he would have stood
the

the Charge. How monstrous is that Defence, where a Man pretends himself to have been conscious of his Integrity, and fearless of his Accusers, yet at the same time run away from his Trial, and dared not abide the Test of a National Enquiry?

It is also said, impudently said, *That his Accusers have experienced in his Case, that the Unfortunate are not Friendless; that likewise they may live perhaps to experience in their own, that the Guilty are so.* Little is this to be feared by any Man alive, when so much Guilt as fell to his Share hath not excluded him from Friendship. If *Corruption*, if *Breach of Trust*, if *Breach of National Faith*, if *High Treason* itself; the first charged upon him by his Friend the late Earl of Oxford, in an Instance of more than *twenty thousand Pounds*, of which the Publick was plunder'd; and the others all confessed by his shameful Flight: If these then have not left him *friendless*, I know not who can ever despair of Friendship.

But who have been this worthy Person's Friends, set aside the common Ties of Blood, and such Alliances, which will often continue, notwithstanding any Crimes, or any Condemnation: Set these aside, we shall easily marshal this *unfortunate* Minister's Friends: We shall find them in the *Pretender's Court* Abroad, in the *dark Cabals* of *Jacobites* at Home: We shall find them among *discarded Statesmen*, *disappointed Whigs*, *ambitious Malecontents*, and *veteran Tories*; who from a Sympathy of Nature, and Conformity of Principles; who from concurring Circumstances and Designs, have honoured him with a Friendship, which none of his *warmest Enemies* have any Cause to envy, and which I am sure the *lowest* of them would heartily be ashamed of.

Other Advantages heavily complained of, as taken against this Gentleman, arise from "the various Scenes of Life thro' " which he hath passed; some *distant* in Place, some *secret* " in their Nature. Here Calumny, *saith his candid Friend*, " hath more Room to assert, and Innocence less Opportunity to defend: Common Honesty, *they tell us*, in some " Cases, and even Decency in others, shut the Mouth of " the Man who carries these Qualities about him, and even " more in *his own Cause* than in that of another Person: " But Calumny is subject to none of these Controuls; and " we speak of our own Knowledge, *say the well informed* " *Authors of the Craftsman*, when we affirm, that in the " present Case the false Imputations which the Accusers " bring, are screen'd from absolute Detection by nothing " but the *Honour* of the *Accused*."

What

What poor and contemptible Sophistry have we before us! Here are Writers complaining of Hardships done to a Gentleman by Enquiries into the various Scenes of his Life, some distant in Place, some secret in their Nature: Shall they then complain of this, whilst they torture another Gentleman's Actions in the most cruel and merciless Manner? What Distance of Time or Place, what Privacy or Intricacy of Transactions, have ever moved their Candor, have ever restrained their Calumnies? And shall they insist upon better Terms for the Character of one whom they acknowledge to have been a *Traitor to his Country*, and an *Agent of the Pretender*, than ever they would allow a faithful Servant of the Prince on the Throne, to a Person eminently trusted in the Councils of the Crown?

Common Honesty and Decency, it is said, shut the Mouth of this *unfortunate* Minister; and they affirm, that his Honour screens the Charge against him from absolute Detection. Prodigious! Did ever Honesty or Decency shut the Mouth of Innocence? Did ever Honour basely submit to Infamy? Shame and Guilt are only silent in the Day of Enquiry: Conscious Honesty is open; nor Decency or Modesty forbids the just Defence of a Character under Accusation.

They then take notice of some of the Crimes alledged against this Gentleman; and heinous Crimes the *Craftsman* allows them to be, if they are true. Let us hear him explain away his Charge: He merits all our Attention.

His *Ingratitude* and *Treachery* to the late Duke of MAREBOROUGH and the Earl of Godolphin, stand first in the Roll. How then is this Point cleared? Why, the *Craftsman* says, he believes, "That no Man acknowledges more sincerely than this Gentleman, the superior Merit of those two illustrious Ministers, or wishes more ardently that they were now alive, and had the Conduct of the Affairs of Great Britain." But the *Craftsman* says, "that he knows no Obligation of *Gratitude* or *Honour* which he lay under to continue in that Administration, when the Measures of it were altered. Tho' those illustrious Ministers might have very good Reasons for altering their Measures, he could have none in Point of *Honour*, whatever he might have in Point of *Interest*, for complying with that *Alteration*. Some of the Enemies of this Gentleman, it is said, came into the World on such a Foot, that they might think it Preferment to be *Creatures* of any Men in Power: He, who came into it upon another Foot, was the *Friend*, but not the *Creature*, of those great Men; and had, as they falsely assert, the Satisfaction of
 prov-

“ proving himself such on several Occasions; and without
 “ Ostentation, at least to *one* of them, at a Time when the
 “ Creatures of great Men usually renounce them, at a Time
 “ when they could do him neither Good nor Hurt.”

How just and faithful this Narrative really is, will immediately be seen.

In the first Place, the Fact on which the whole Defence is grounded, is a Falshood of the most glaring Nature; namely, That the D. of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin ALTERED their Measures: For it is a Fact of the greatest Notoriety, all Men know it, and none can deny it, that their Administration was uniform; the War they carried on was to recover the Liberties of Europe, and the Peace they laboured to establish, was such as might secure those common Liberties. This they never departed from, and their Plan was never varied. To say then that *they altered their Measures*, when those Measures were always the same, till this Gentleman came to Court in Opposition to them, is a false and scandalous Libel on these illustrious Ministers, but no Defence of this *very honest* Gentleman.

If the Charge of *Ingratitude* against this Gentleman had no more in it than merely his Difference in Opinion with those great Men, his Weakness and Vanity might have been reflected on; but perhaps no Man would ever have imputed to him his different Opinion as criminal. He might differ with them *lawfully*, and yet most *unreasonably* at the same Time; but however *unreasonable* or *absurd* his Opinion might be, none would have called it *Ingratitude*.

Here then is the *low* Artifice, and the *poor* Sophistry of his *disingenuous* Advocate, who wilfully mistakes the Charge of *Ingratitude* merely to consist in his *Opposition* to those Ministers, and not in the *Circumstances of that Opposition*, which was carried on by the most *barbarous* and *cruel* *Defamation* that ever any Minister suffered; by the most *venemous*, *malicious* *Invectives* that the Vengeance of Hell could inspire; by *Weekly Libels* ushered into the World; by an *insolent* Letter of *his own* writing, address'd to the Author of the *Examiner*, and dispersed by his own Authority all over the Kingdom: *Libels* assisted with *his own* Pen, and encouraged by *his own* Bounty, wherein the Duke of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin, were treated as infamous *Parricides* and *Plunderers*; wherein they were also pointed out to all their Countrymen, as the *worst Enemies* of their Country; wherein no *Variety of Scenes* in their Lives, no *Distance of Place*, nor *Secrecy of Affairs*, were ever candidly considered; but their *private* Life, their *domestick* Peace, were invaded. The Earl of Godolphin was insulted, not only in *his Fall*, but even in *his Hour*

of

of Death, and denied the *Privilege of Rest* in the Grave. The Duke of Marlborough likewise was defamed in his *Absence*, for neither *Absence* or *Death* were consider'd; all Advantages were taken against these great Ministers, all Slanders uttered against them, notwithstanding that this Gentleman owns that he hath such high Opinions of their superior Worth, and such ardent Wishes that they were now in Power; in which Case he would as surely attempt their Destruction, as the Jews would attempt to crucify their Saviour, should he reveal himself again.

If then this *unfortunate Lord*, or his Friends, would clear him of the Charge relating to the Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin, neither he nor they have any need to prove that he had a Right to oppose them, but that the Defamation of their Persons was an Act of Gratitude in one who owns his Obligations to their Friendship.

It would have been very obliging, had they told us wherein he proved himself to be their Friend at a time when their Creatures renounced them. Was he the Duke of Marlborough's Friend, when he promoted and carried on that Censure against him in the House of Commons, or that Prosecution in the Court of Exchequer, which were so injurious to his superior Worth? Was he the Duke of Marlborough's Friend, when he so gratefully opposed and disapproved the Pass, which his Grace desired to go into Flanders, merely for his private Conveniency? Was he the Earl of Godolphin's Friend, when he so zealously carried on that Charge in the House of Commons; a Charge of notorious Breach of Trust, and high Injustice to the Nation, in suffering Thirty-five Millions Sterling of the publick Money to remain unaccounted for? Was he the Earl of Godolphin's Friend, when he joined in this infamous Vote against him; and condemned him even without seeing that Evidence which the House had called for, and which, when it came before them, was a full Justification of those Persons whom they thought it necessary first to hang, and then to try? Were these Acts of Friendship to those Noble Lords? the Proofs of Gratitude given them, when their Creatures deserted them?

It is said, "That he came into the World on another Foot than some Gentlemen," who heartily despise the dirty Infination. It is also said, "that he was not the Creature of these Ministers, whilst others might think it high Preferment to be so." If to be the Creature of Ministers, is to serve them faithfully in their Power, and defend them zealously in their Disgrace; If to adhere to them in all their Fortunes, and to do them Justice in their Fall against all the corrupt Temptations which their Enemies could offer:

if this is to be the Creature of Ministers, the whole Creation cannot produce a fairer, or a worthier Character. But if to serve them for mercenary Views, and sordid Interests; if to desert them, because they did not gratify these, as indeed who can gratify insatiable Avarice, or restless Ambition? if to supplant their Power by the vilest Arts, and insult their Persons with the most groveling Malice; if to Defame their illustrious Characters; if to deny their superior Worth: If to condemn them without any Evidence, and against all Justice; if this is the Part of a Friend, and not of a Creature, the late Lord B—— then was such to the Duke of Marlborough, and to the Earl of Godolphin.

“ That he came to Court on the Call of the late Queen, “ in Opposition to them; and exerted himself in her Service, when they served her no longer, will not (says the “ Craftsman) be objected against him by any Man, who “ thinks more Allegiance due to the Prince than to the Minister.” But the Craftsman knows, and wickedly evades the Truth, That this Gentleman came to Court without her Majesty’s Call, and came there only to oppose her Ministers: That they served her faithfully, to her own Glory, and the Good of her People, with the Approbation of the Queen, and with the Applause of the Nation, till he and others, by base and treacherous Arts, supplanted them in her Favour; succeeding to great Offices of State, by imposing on her Understanding, and not in pure Obedience to her Commands. All this was done, whilst the Duke of Marlborough was actually in her Service, and would have served her still, with the same Advantage to the Nation: But this Gentleman was restless, till that Immortal Man was dismiss’d her Service, tho’ then in the full Career of Success; and by this Minister’s Means the Royal Hand was prostituted to disgrace that Great and Invincible General. We shall ever make the just Distinction between Princes and their Ministers. Some Princes there undoubtedly are, whose Judgments and Opinions ought to have a much greater Deference than those of their Ministers; but with the highest Reverence to the Throne, and to the Rights of Monarchy, with all possible Tenderness to the late Queen Anne, and to her pious Memory, I will be so free as to assert, That the Duke of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin understood the Interests of this Nation better than ever that Princess could at any time be supposed to do; and that those illustrious Persons discharged their Trusts more faithfully and more honourably than those whom she suffered to supplant them. Let the Craftsman deny it, if he pleases; the rest of the World are sufficiently satisfied.

“ This

" This Gentleman (says the *Craftsman*) had no Patron, or " *Patroness*, but the late *Queen*." The *Craftsman* knows it to be utterly false: He knows that this Gentleman would never have been re-admitted to her Councils, but thro' the late Earl of Oxford's Influence; nor made her *Principal Secretary of State*, but with that *Great Favourite's* Choice and and Approbation. All the World have seen that *Lord's Memorial to the Queen*, wherein he Charges this Gentleman with having *listed Parties for himself among the Members of the House of Commons*; wherein he also observes to her all those *Factions and Divisions which Lord B. had raised in her Councils, to make himself Chief in Authority*; wherein he likewise observes, that *Lord B. was sent to France, merely to give Time and Leisure for composing those Differences*; wherein he farther instances his Rage against him for opposing the Voyage to Canada; by which he says *Lord B. actually Cheated the Publick of above Twenty Thousand Pounds*. And thro' the whole Course of that Memorial, it may be seen, that *Lord B. was in fierce Opposition against him, and zealously bent to disgrace him*. To say that he neither projected, or procured this Disgrace, is therefore apparently false. To suggest that he knew not that the Earl's Disgrace was resolved on, till the Queen told it him, is idle and foolish, a silly, Jesuitical Evasion; for who could tell him sooner than the *Queen*? And how could she tell him her Resolution before she made one? That he had Obligations to the Earl of Oxford, is apparent from his Advancement; for he came into Power in Conjunction with that Noble Lord, and by the Means of his *Friendship*. What his *Gratitude* was in Return appears likewise from the Noble Earl's Overthrow. This is certain, that there hath been no Minister, or Administration, since this Gentleman came into the World, whose Person and Measures he hath not distressed, to have a Share in their Power; and afterwards, when he obtained a Share, it hath always been seen, that he constantly renewed the same fierce Opposition, that he might become *Supreme Director of Affairs*, and engross all that Power, which he never would suffer to be easy in the Hands of other Men, however deserving of the Publick, or however kind to himself.

The *Craftsman* then comes to this Gentleman's Behaviour in His late Majesty's Time; whose Mercy, he says, was *unask'd and unearned*. That it was *unearned*, is probable enough; that it was *unasked*, is a downright Falshood: For by the *Journal Book of the House of Commons, Tuesday the 20th of April 1725*, which is at this time before me, it appears that the House was acquainted, by his late Majesty's Command, " That this Gentleman had, about Seven Years be-

“ fore, made his humble *Application* and *Submission*, with
 “ *Affurances of Duty, Allegiance and Fidelity*; which His
 “ Majesty so far accepted, as to give him *Encouragement*
 “ to hope for some future Mark of His Majesty’s Favour
 “ and Goodness.” Yet the *Craftsman* says, that *this Person*
 never asked for *Mercy*. See then what shameless *Effrontery*
 and *Falshood* reigns in these Gentlemen, and runs thro’ their
 Arguments!

“ What followed many Years afterwards, in part of His
 “ Majesty’s gracious Intentions, *the Craftsman says*, was
 “ solely due to the *late King*; that they were not fulfilled,
 “ was solely due to the M——— r. His Ambition, his
 “ causeless Jealousy, and private Interests, continued a
 “ sort of Proscription, with much *Cruelty* to the Person
 “ concerned, and little Regard to the *King’s Declarations*.”

To this I answer, That it is notorious, that the *Minister*
 here abused found it difficult enough to obtain from the
House of Commons that Indulgence to this attained Lord, which
 the *Craftsman* calls *but Part* of the late King’s gracious In-
 tentions; that he was very much blamed both by his Friends
 and Enemies, for the Share he had in obtaining that Fa-
 vour of the Parliament; which I may truly affirm, was an
 Indulgence against the Sense of the Nation: And such was
 the Opposition very reasonably made to it every where,
 that I do not believe it was in the *Power of the Crown* to
 have reversed the Attainder. If likewise it had been in the
Power of the Crown, yet it would have been an *high Injustice*
 to the Nation to have re-admitted a Person into the *House of*
Peers, who had openly been in the *Service of the Pretender*;
 a Person, who by the most wicked *Administration* in the Ser-
 vice of his *lawful Prince*, had incurred the Guilt of *High*
Treason; a Person, who by enlisting himself in the *Pretender’s*
Service, had avowed his *Treason*, and aggravated his *Guilt*;
 a Person, who at *Home* sacrificed the Honour and Happi-
 ness of his Country, who *Abroad* endeavoured to overthrow
 its Liberty and Laws, the *Protestant Succession*, and all that
 was sacred in the *British Constitution*. If the *Craftsman*
 and his Friends could think 750 *Irish Papists* in *France* dan-
 gerous to this Establishment, could they then think it safe,
 had such a *Leviathan of Treason* been re-admitted in Parlia-
 ment, or re-invested with Employments which he had for-
 merly discharged with so much *Corruption, Perfidiousness,*
Wantonness, and Iniquity? If this Gentleman’s Affairs were
 thus circumstanced, would the Minister he complains of
 have been just or faithful to his native Country, had he
 counselled or advised the King to fulfil such Intentions or
 Declarations? It is a *Libel* on the late King’s Memory to
 say

say that *He had such Intentions*. But, if through excessive Grace and Goodness; if through that overflowing Mercy which was so natural to his Royal Mind; if through his Abundance of tender Compassion, he had ever signified *any such Intentions*; let every *Englishman* judge, whether it would not have been highly criminal in any Minister, not to have represented to his *most sacred Majesty* the dangerous Tendency of such his Intentions. For tho' Princes may propose to pardon the *greatest Malefactor*, yet if Mercy to such a Man should be Cruelty to a Nation, what Minister dare be silent on such an Occasion, or suffer, as *fars as in him lies*, the Royal Grace to be extended even against the Good of the Kingdom?

Should we consider this at the same time in the Lights of a just and reasonable *private Interest*; an Interest no way inconsistent with the general Good; should we reflect on *this Gentleman's Usage* of all the Ministers who lived in his Time; how gratefully he used the Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin; with what Honour and good Faith he treated the Earl of Oxford; how restless his Nature, how insatiable his Appetites: A man of Sense must have thought that Minister infatuated, who should have consented that this Gentleman should ever have Power to shew that shining Gratitude to him which former Ministers had so largely experienced: For the *Craftsman* owns he had earned no Mercy: Should any Minister then concur in such Indulgence to him, as might not only *endanger the Ministry*, but even the Constitution? This Minister therefore, whether he considered himself or his Country, was from common Justice to both, obliged to oppose the pretension.

Surely it was a very great Indulgence that this Gentleman was restored to the Liberty of breathing the Air of his native Country, and of enjoying his private Fortune, when he was deservedly exiled from the one, and had justly forfeited the other. Could he have had this Indulgence and Favour, without the Assistance of that Minister against whom he is so vindictive? Has he not had more than ever he deserved? And what would he have more than this? would he again administer the Publick, abandon its Allies, and sacrifice its Honour? Will nothing satisfy this Gentleman, but the Power which he once abused, and would again abuse? the Trust which he once betrayed, and would again betray? Humble and modest Requests! and wicked that Minister indeed who stands in Opposition to them!

It is said, "That the Minister just mentioned, opposed these Requests from *causeless Jealousy*." Let it be determined how *causeless* that Jealousy must be, when it is considered

sidered how moderate this Gentleman hath been, how quiet and peaceable a Subject he is, under that Government which pardoned such Treasons, and shewed him such Mercy : *These are Merits of which the Volumes of the Craftsman will ever be precious Memorials.* If then he hath been so fierce, so turbulent and outrageous, as a private Man, was it causeless Jealousy to suppose that he would have been worse in a publick Capacity ? Certainly this Gentleman's Friends are ill advised, to censure that Minister's Jealousy, when so much hath been done in conjunction with themselves, to justify that Jealousy. In truth, it ought not to be called mere Jealousy ; it was just and fatal Discernment.

They own, That this Gentleman was in the Service of the Pretender ; that he served him unfaithfully, they say, is false. This gives the Chevalier the LYE : And as I am not concerned to vindicate his Honour, so it is foreign to me. They assert that the Gentleman never entered into these Engagements with the Pretender, or any Commerce with him, till he had been attainted, and was cut off from the Body of his Majesty's Subjects. Good God ! what an Excuse is here ! What had the People of England done to this Lord, to merit this Usage ? That because he would not, or dared not stand the Judgment of his Peers, and answer the Charge of Male-administration committed in the highest Offices, therefore was it just or reasonable that he should impose the Pretender upon his Country ? That because he could not justify his Crimes, that therefore he must subvert our Constitution ? And not being able to support his wicked Greatness, must he therefore be excused in a monstrous-Design to destroy all our Liberties ? This perhaps, was natural with him ; but then it shews us how bad his Nature must be. And this Defence of his Crimes is worthy of the Craftsman.

Is there an Instance of one honest Man in the Annals of Britain, who ever turned himself against the Happiness and Constitution, because he was cut off from the Body of the People, either through Mistakes in publick Affairs, or through Default to answer a publick Accusation ; or, if they please to have it so, through the Violence of Times ? Did Ludlow the Regicide ? Did the worthy and innocent Earl of Clarendon, both driven out of the Kingdom ? Did any Man, who had the least Share of natural Integrity, ever attempt to enslave a great People, because he could not continue to live among them ? But this is the governing Principle of our modern Patriots, whatever Incapacities their Crimes or Demerits draw upon them ; whether they are banish'd the Country, deny'd its Honours, or refused its Offices : This too, however justly or deservedly, they
vow

vow their Revenge immediately against the People, the innocent and collective Body of their Countrymen; and in their Despair of gratifying their unbounded Appetites, of recovering their former Power, or engrossing all Employments, they immediately attempt the Destruction of all Mankind.

That he so readily went into the *PRETENDER's Service*, shews his strong Propension to those Interests. Even in the Year 1702, he was *one of the Virtuous 117*, who gave *their Votes to throw out the Bill for settling the Protestant Succession in the illustrious House of Hanover*: Which shews how much his Majesty, or his Royal Family, stand obliged to *this Gentleman*; as also how much he ever was devoted to their Interests. If this is *vile Calumination*, then the *Craftsman's* Challenge was properly made; and there is not *one Proof in the World* against his general Affirmations, notwithstanding the *numerous* Instances which have been herein produced.

They make their Appeals for the Truth of their general Affirmations, to a *Noble Lord*. If they would let us know who *this Lord* may be, or what particular Points they desire his Lordship should speak to; and if this *Great Personage* would condescend to be examined, we might perhaps obtain some useful Informations by proper Interrogatories: But at present we think it highly absurd for this Gentleman, or his Friends, to call a Witness in their Defence, who, they are certain, will never appear, or submit to an Examination. Equally foolish is it to make him Arbitrator for the Publick, when they are assured that he will not give the Publick any Opinion which he may form in this Case.

It is no extraordinary Presumption to imagine, that if the *Noble Lord* was to give his Opinion freely of the Gentleman who makes such solemn Appeals to his Judgment, that he would brand him with all that Infamy which his Crimes deserve. His Lordship wust well remember that scandalous Negotiation carry'd on by this Minister with the late *French King*; and that at the very Time when this Gentleman assured the *Dutch*, in the late *Queen's* Name, *That her Majesty was resolved, in making Peace, as in making War, to act in perfect Concert with the States*; at the very Time he carried on a *separate Commerce with France*, signing with the *French Ministers* *private Propositions of Peace*; in which an express Article was inserted, *That the Secret should be inviolably kept*. In Consequence of which, he was obliged to sacrifice the Honour of the Nation, and to comply with all the *Demands of the French*, that they

might keep his *wicked Secret*, and screen him from the Justice of his Country.

This Branch of the *Grand Alliance*, this shameful Violation of the *British Faith*, was attended with an Act of *High-Treason*, as arbitrary in its Nature as ever was committed in this Kingdom: For he presumed to take upon him *Sovereign Authority*, and without any Powers from the Crown, met the *Agent of France*, then in open War with the Kingdom, and in that manner carried on his clandestine Negotiation: A Proceeding so fatal, that the Earl of STRAFFORD soon informed him, that the *Statés* had seen a Letter from M. Torcy, giving an Account of a *Negotiation begun in England*: By which Step the Queen was divested of all her Allies; who could no longer repose any Confidence in her *faithless* and *treacherous* Ministers: And the *British Nation*, whose arms had been so victorious, was now entirely exposed to the tender Mercies of *France*.

To compleat this Work of Infamy, this Violation of every thing sacred among Mankind, this Gentleman, then her late Majesty's *Secretary of State*, sends Her General, the late Duke of Ormond, Orders, *not to assist the Confederates against the French Army*, then encamped near them; at the same time communicates these Orders to the Court of *France*, and opens a Correspondence between *Marschal Villars* and the Duke of Ormond, whereby his Grace "gave the common Enemy Intelligence of all that was designed in the Confederate Army." Not content with ordering the Queen's Troops to suffer that the *French Armies* should do whatever they desired against the Allies, this Gentleman insists, *that all the Foreigners in English Pay should withdraw from the Confederates, or forfeit the Subsidies of Britain*: The Consequence of which must have been, that *Prince Eugene's Army* had been infallibly cut to Pieces, and *all the Empire* laid open to the Arms of *France*. But those *Foreigners* were faithful, notwithstanding this Violation of the *British Faith*: An Act so ignominious, that the Earl of STRAFFORD wrote to Lord B——ke, on the Separation of the Troops, *That all the English seem'd rejoiced to march off; being weary of the Situation which they were in, and of the Reproaches they met with in the great Army*. To such Disgrace did this worthy Person expose our gallant Countrymen.

The dreadful Consequences of the Separation were now sensibly felt in the unfortunate Action at *Denain*; where *Marschal Villars* attacked Lord *Albemarle's* Camp, which he forced, took him Prisoner, and entirely defeated all the Troops under his Command: On which Occasion Mr. Torcy makes his Compliments to Lord B——ke, in full Perswasion,

swation. *that a Victory obtained by the Queen's Enemies over her faithful Allies, must be a Pleasure to her Majesty:* A Letter, which, howsoever insolent and intolerable, Her *honest Secretary* not only received with Patience, but even with much *Satisfaction*.

It would be endless to enumerate the Consequences of this egregious Scene of Iniquity: How Lord B—— *he himself* gave the *French Court special Instructions*, whereby they might force *Tournay* out of the Hands of the *Dutch*, whose Interests then we had in our Care, and to whom we had engaged our Honour for their Security: A Crime for which he was not only impeached, but which was likewise expressly charged on him by his Friend the late Earl of Oxford. We may also remember, how he *foolishly and stupidly* gave Orders to the *British Minister in Spain*, to acknowledge *King Philip's Right* to that Monarchy; the only Point which his *Catholic Majesty* laboured to obtain of *Great Britain*. An Acknowledgment, which was most wretchedly offered, before he had promised even *one Point* in Favour of the *British Nation*: An Act of Folly so fatal, that this Prince, who would have purchas'd our Recognition on any Terms, when he had gained it *for nothing at all*, refused us, in the most positive and imperious manner, even an *Inch of Ground* about the Town of *Gibraltar*; and also rejected all our Instances for our *brave unhappy Allies*, the *Catalans*: A People whom we had, on the Faith of our Nation, engaged in the War against *King Philip*: Nay, he insisted, and to the eternal Infamy of that Administration it was complied with, that we should turn our own perfidious Arms upon them, to compleat their *ill-deserved Destruction*. Our own *Ships of War* were commanded to force this free-spirited People, with whom we were united in the Cause of Liberty: We did accordingly force them into that Slavery from which we had sworn to defend them; and when they had perished bravely and manfully, though miserably, they hung up on their *High Altar the Queen's solemn Declaration* to protect them, as a Memorial to Heaven and Earth of *British Perfidy and Ingratitude*. All this I mention for the Glory of that *worthy Gentleman*, who whilst this *poor unfortunate* People were thus delivered over to Destruction, assured the *British Nation* in the most solemn manner, *that every thing was doing for their Preservation*. This is He, whose Cause and Character the *Craftsman* so warmly espouses; whose Counsels are the standing Measures of our present Patriots, and whose Principles are, by their united Strength, to be imposed upon the People of *Britain*.

If I add, that this Gentleman's wise Negotiations reduced him to such low Distress, that he submitted to accept of a *Renunciation* from King *Philip*, which all the *French* and *Spanish* Ministers told him, at the very time it was made, was perfectly invalid, and never could be effectual: That by his great Skill in *Treaty-making*, he suffered the *French* grossly to impose upon him in the Affair of *Newfoundland*; was forced to allow them a Share in the *British* Fishery, which they had no Pretension to; and to purchase the unworthy Terms which they agreed to, by an Article for lowering all the Duties on *French* Commodities: An Article, which, had the Parliament complied with it, must have exposed our *Staple Manufactures* to Ruin. If these, I say, are duly remember'd, it must be confessed that he is a most able Master of Negotiation, and worthy above all Men, to act in the Councils of his Country; an Employment for which he professes so vast an Ambition.

If in the *British Parliament* he was seen so enterprizing on the *British* Liberties: If to his Piety and Justice was owing the ever-memorable SCHISM BILL; that Bill which deprived our Protestant Dissenters of those Rights, which, as Men, they were born to enjoy; deprived them not only of public Trusts, but even of the private Education of their Children: If to his Zeal for National Freedom, were owing those Speeches and Messages, which the late Queen made to her Parliament in the four last Years of her Reign, against the Liberty of the Press: If to his Love of public Enquiries, were owing the Measures carried on in the House of Commons, and the Grand Committee appointed by that House to Restrain the Press: If these are his Merits, how worthy must he be to sit in the *British Parliament*, where he would not allow the present KING to sit as Duke of Cambridge, altho' it was his legal and undisputed Right? How wicked are they, who will not restore him to that Peerage, which he so highly dishonour'd, and so deservedly forfeited! Let Englishmen judge what an excellent Patriot he is, and how useful a Minister he would be: Let the Noble Lord judge for us, to whom he makes his Appeals. I dare say, that no Man hath ever more united the Opinions of all Parties than this Gentleman hath done. As none but the most Abandon'd think him useful, so none but the most ignorantly stupid can think him honest. They who defend him, do it, not from any Impressions of his Worth, but in vindication of themselves for employing such a Tool: They who would rise by his wicked Arts, would never raise him above his present low Condition. As they know his Treachery and Ingratitude, they bear him no Affection; they place

place in him no Confidence; nor will they ever make him the Partner of their Success, if they preserve the least Share of *common Sense*. However they may employ him, we all know how they mean to reward him; and perhaps it may be the only good Meaning those Gentlemen are to be charged with.

In this Disquisition I have given this *honest* Gentleman the Preference, and have considered him in the *first* Place, although the *Craftsman* introduced him *last*. This was not done by me, with any View to neglect his *inseparable Colleague*, but from the material Difference of their respective Cases. And it must be allowed, that he who has done *most* to deserve such Acknowledgments as are in our Power to give, ought to receive them *first*.

The *Craftsman* enters into the Charge of *cruel Revenge* and *disappointed Ambition*, so frequently objected to an HONOURABLE PATRIOT, *his Patron*. "How ridiculous" (says our Author) is this Charge? and on whom can such "Stuff fall? Hath he renounced the Principles of good Policy which he formerly professed?" Yes, indeed; and this I shall give my self some little Trouble to shew.

If this Gentleman was educated in *Whig* Principles, as he undoubtedly was: If the fundamental Maxim of his Education, was the Establishment of this Government in the *present Royal Family*: If this Royal Family have governed the Kingdom by the Laws, and allowed greater Liberties to the People, than ever were at any Time heretofore known or enjoyed among us: If to this mighty Share of Liberty be also added that sacred and inviolable Right of Property, which we enjoy; that free and unrestrained Privilege of exercising our *private Judgment* without Controul in Matters of Conscience and Religion, no ways subject to *Ecclesiastical Power*, or *Spiritual Tyranny*, or *political Bigotry*: If freed from all these Impositions and Grievances, we thus enjoy all that Happiness which we ever could promise our selves from the *Protestant Succession*: If notwithstanding this, the *Honourable Gentleman* taking the Advantage of common Evils, and unavoidable Difficulties, arising from the various Passions and Interests of contending Princes, hath even attacked the *Royal Title* to the Crown, and invaded the *Prince on the Throne*; invaded him even in open Parliament, by charging him with having *Broken the Terms of the Act of Settlement*; by insisting, that the *Act of Settlement* is his Majesty's only Tenure by which he holds his Crown; by suggesting, *I say*, that *this was in Breach of that Act*; and leaving others to conclude, that as the *Terms* were broken, *the Title was forfeited, and the Throne was thereby become vacant*: If this was done by *this Gentleman*, may it not be asked, *Whether any Title in this World was ever impeached,*
but

but with a View to change the Possession? And if this be true, he certainly and manifestly hath *changed his Notions of Right and Wrong* in Matters of Government; hath taken every little Advantage which might shake the Scepter in the Royal Hand, and render all the Happiness of *Englishmen* precarious.

If he hath gone over to the *Tories*, and suffers himself to be governed by *Veteran Jacobites*, by Men who confessedly have been in the *Pretender's Service*, and would return to it on the first Temptation or Provocation: If he constantly votes in open Conjunction with a Body of Men sworn *Enemies to Whigs to Whig-Establishments*, and all *Whig Principles*; if he acts in Concert with, and by the Dictates of, those who opposed the *Revolution*, distressed *King William's Government*, opposed the *Settlement of the Protestant Succession*, promoted the *French Commerce Bill*, carried the *Schism Bill*, and for *Thirty Years* together have laboured with all their Might, to impose the *Pretender* upon the *British Nation*; if, further, he opposes the *King's Affairs in general*; if he attempted and struggled to put off the *common Supplies* of the present Year, and to distress the publick Service in every Branch of the Government; if he now condemns those *very Measures* which he himself once advanced, the *Treaties* which he voted honourable, and the *Alliances* which he then asserted necessary; if notwithstanding all the Share which he hath had in the Councils of the Crown, and all the *Vindications* which in former Years he made of the *Royal Measures*, he hath lately avowed and declared, "That not one Treaty signed within these *Sixteen Years*, was even made, or so much as intended for the Good of this Kingdom." If this be true, he hath departed from the *Principles of good Policy* which he formerly professed. However bold the *Defiance* to shew this may be, it is evidently true; and those *Imputations of Disappointment or Revenge*, which the *Craftsman* calls *impertinent and silly*, are the very best Excuses his Patron can possibly make use of.

It is said, that "If he pursues the same *general Principles of Conduct* with which he first set out, and is in *Opposition* now to *some few* of those with whom he concurred then, they have left him, because they have left the *Principles* which they professed: He left neither," says this *Writer*: For Instance, he *invects against* publick Profusion, and private Corruption, &c.

To this it may be replied, That on the above-mentioned View of his Conduct, he doth not pursue the same general Principles with which he first set out: That whilst he concurred with the Government, he never opposed either *publick Profusion*, or *private Corruption*: That he himself shar-

ed the *Bounties*, and added to the *Pensions* of the Crown: That there hath been no more Cause to complain of either *Corruption* or *Profusion*, since he hath opposed the Government, than there plainly was whilst he had the Honour to concur with this Ministry: That the very Day of his Patriotism may be assigned, and we can date the Hour of its Birth: That the genuine Rise of his publick Spirit was from the Corruption of *his own Heart*: That, instead of having a Spirit which might have done Honour to a *Roman Citizen* in the *best* Times of the Common-wealth, a *Roman Citizen* would have been ashamed of his *self-interested* Spirit, even in the *worst* of those Times: That all his *Lifetime* he hath been upon Extremes; and, whilst he concurred with the Government, was as compliant to their Views, as if he had sat in the *Parliament* of *Paris*: Likewise, since he has opposed this Government, he hath been as unreasonably loud and vindictive against their Measures, as if he had been a Member of the *Polish Diet*: That whatever his Vanity may be at this Time, or however his *Mercenaries* may extol him, with how great Disdain soever he may treat this Minister, or with what Licentiousness soever he may revile him; yet there was a Time when he thought it the highest Honour, and first Distinction of his Life, to be ranked in the Number of that *Great Man's* Friends, whose very Name and Character hath given him the *small Consideration* which he hath found even in *his Opposition*.

They endeavour to make the Charge on this Gentleman ridiculous, by putting it into *Syllogism*: As thus; "He assisted a Minister in his Rise to Power; he opposes this Minister in Power; *Ergo*, Spight and Resentment are his Motives." Their *Logick* is as false as their *Politics*: The *Syllogism* fairly stated, is thus: "He concurred with a Minister whilst this Minister's Power was favourable to his Wishes. He opposed this Minister when he found his Power no longer favourable to his Wishes." All the World knows the Truth of these Propositions, and hence the certainty of the Conclusion, that *Spight and Revenge are his Motives*.

They ask, "May not the Abuse which he apprehends this Minister makes of his Power; may not Measures, which he fears are wicked, known to be weak, and seen obstinately pursued, be his Motives?" What a Heap of mere *Possibilities* are here started against a *positive* Charge? Let me recite a few Questions: "Did he not expect, and insist on a great Employment? Was he not disappointed and refused in this Expectation and Demand? Did not his Patriotism take its Rise here? Did not his Opposition begin from this very Fact?" Where then shall we look

look for Motives, but to *this Fact*? Had he been gratify'd; instead of being disappointed: Had he been comply'd with, instead of being refused, would he have *fear'd* any Wickedness, or have *found out* any Weakness in this Administration? I defy him and all his *Sophisters* to contradict me in this.

They ask, " May not *dangerous* Ambition, *insatiable* Avarice, and *insolent* Behaviour be his Provocations?" I ask, Have they not been his *Incentives*? If his Lust of Power, if his Appetite for Wealth, or if his over-bearing Spirit were *Secrets* with Mankind, I could crowd innumerable Pages with *irrefragable* Proofs.

They farther ask, " May not this Gentleman think himself the more obliged to contribute to this Minister's Fall, for having contributed so much to his Elevation?" Why, really I do not undertake to determine what he may think; but if these were his Thoughts, I should think him like a *capricious* and *whimsical* Builder, who had raised so fine a Structure for another Man, that the Beauty of the House vexed him to the Heart, and he thought himself obliged to pull it down again. If this then is the Gentleman's *Wisdom*, I wish he may long enjoy the *Renown* of it.

But I should be very glad to know wherein this *Important Person* contributed to the Minister's Elevation. For, If I remember rightly, this Minister brought the Gentleman into Places which he was no ways entitled to, and *when he was even more insignificant than he is at present*. To say that the *Creature* of this Minister's Greatness contributed to that Greatness, is altogether *new* and *false in Fact*; though on both Accounts entitled to a Place in their political System.

They then ask, " Whom shall they soonest suspect to be actuated by Sentiments of *private Interest*, this Gentleman, or the Minister?" The Question is not fairly, Whom we shall *suspect*? for here is a *positive* Charge. Was not the Gentleman's *Anger* actuated by Sentiments of *private Interest*? Answer *This*. As to their Question, Whom shall we *soonest suspect*? Let those who consider the *sparing, scraping* Nature of the one, with the *frank, liberal* Heart of the other, fix the Charge of *sordid Views* on him, to whom they think it justly belongs.

It is next enquired, " Whose Circumstances most demanded, whose Family most required an Increase of " Wealth and Fortune, the Gentleman or the Minister?" Indeed, I think, if the Gentleman's Family and Circumstances required it least, his Avarice is the most to be blamed. But since so much Difference between their Fortunes and Circumstances is perpetually made, I will shew the World what that Difference really is. The Gentleman possesses

possesses an enormous Estate of above *Nine Thousand Pounds per Annum*, all acquired only by a *Secretary of the Treasury*. The Minister's Estate, far from being exorbitant, was acquired in so high Station, as at the *Head of that Treasury*, where the Gentleman's *little Possessions* were picked up by the *Secretary*; and which Possessions, he, this Gentleman, obtained the *Fee-simple* of, on *very easy Terms*, by the Favour, Indulgence, and Assistance of *that Minister*, whom he hath sworn to destroy.

They ask in another Place, "In whom have we seen *strongest Evidence* of that *vindictive Temper*, which *prompts to personal Spite and Resentment*." I answer, In that *meek and humble Man*, whose *Vows of Destruction*, whose *horrid Imprecations and Outrage* have been fitter for *Hockley in the Hole*, than *St. Stephen's Chapel*: That *Christian and Lamb-like Patriot*, who hath been so *dutiful to the King*, so *complaisant to the Queen*, and so *religiously decent to all the Royal Family*: That original Pattern of *Humility and Moderation*, who has given many *divine Instructions* to his *loving Countrymen*: It is He, this Man of *Peace and Patience*, upon whom I think the Charge in the Question must fall. We all know how *easy* he is under all such Accusations: I dare say for myself I shall draw no Instances of a *vindictive Temper*, no *personal Spite and Resentment* from this kind, *good-natur'd Gentleman*; he is not used to be out of Humour, when any one tells him the Truth.

Finally, the *Craftsman* maintains, "That there is not the least Colour of Reason to suppose that the Gentleman's Opposition proceeds from the Spirit of Ambition, or a Design of pushing himself into the Administration." And why? *First*, he possessed the *War Office* many Years ago, which he laid down for the sake of this very Minister, who, he then supposed, would soon, from the publick Necessity, come into Power again, and be able to give him a *better Place*. *Secondly*, When that Minister came again into Power, this Gentleman was made *Cofferer to the Household*; which he forced the Ministers to take from him, when he would not be content with it; but was resolved to oppose them, that he might compel them to make him *Principal Secretary of State*. These are *two of the Proofs* which his judicious Advocate gives, that this worthy Man had no Ambition or Desire to be in the Administration. Now for the *Third*, it seems that since he hath despaired of gaining upon his Majesty's Favour, or of removing the faithful Servants of the King from the Councils of the Crown; since he hath been sensible that it is impossible that he should ever have a Share in the Administration, or any Office in the State: *I say, Since*

Since this hath been sensibly demonstrated to him, he hath made a *solemn Vow* never to accept a Place of Trust, or a Share in the Ministry as long as he lives; often declaring in the *House of Commons*, and publishing it now in the *Craftsman*: Thereby endeavouring to make *That* appear as his *Virtue* which is his *Fate*; and not his Election, but his *Destiny*.

Thus stand the Proofs of his *Disinterestedness*, his *Want of Ambition*, and his *Aversion to Power*. When he struggled for the *Seals*, he lost the *Cofferer's Place*. When the late King died, he again followed the Court, and worshipped the *Rising Sun*. When the *Civil List* came to be settled, though with those large *Appointments* which he hath since not blushed to declaim at: When this, *I say*, was settled, dumb was his Voice, neither were there Words in his Mouth. But when the Ministry came to be settled, exclusive of his own Person, our *very flexible Patriot* again appeared with that *Inflexibility*, so worthy of a *Roman Citizen*, and yet so *very yielding*, whilst there were any Hopes of his being a *British Minister*.

Hitherto they always have constantly declined, and carefully avoided to mention or defend the Ministers employed in the *Four last Years* of the late *Queen Anne's* Reign. The *Craftsman*, in his Libel upon *Acts of Grace*, very modestly owns that he was not concerned to vindicate the late Earl of *Oxford*, or the Measures of his Administration. But now their Design is full-grown, and their Iniquity hath ripened to Maturity, they who were cautious to vindicate the Earl of *Oxford*, a Minister whose Character had some good Qualities, which his worst Enemies never denied, and whose Conduct had various Excuses, which Men of good Nature have always been willing to admit: Those Persons, *I say*, who have heretofore feared to enter upon his Defence, even they, are at length so advanced in their Schemes, that they have leaped all Bounds, have exceeded all Measures of Discretion, and have undertaken to palliate those Crimes which have ever been beyond Dispute, as they are without Example.

Whilst they so *vindictively* pursue the Person of another Minister, even to Destruction, for Crimes that have never been proved; and, for want of Capacity, tho' he hath triumphed for five Years together over all their Abilities, Industry and Power: Whilst they thus condemn him for Actions which themselves judged innocent, as also for Measures which they voted honourable, just and necessary; at the same time do they palliate confessed Crimes, and the most notorious Corruption, the most wicked Minister of our Times, and

and the worst Measures that ever were carried on in our Country.

They say, That the *Honourable Person* who is at the Head of this Faction is wonderfully happy in the Applauses of his Country. I remember an Observation which the *Craftsman* made once in the Case of a great popular Magistrate of London, namely, That many Persons, in all Ages, have enjoyed the highest Degree of Popular Favour for some time, who least of all deserved it. But the Gentleman and his Friends seem to be under a very grievous Mistake in their Notions of his present Popularity: For his mercenary Nature, his vindictive Temper, and boundless Ambition, are too well understood. All Men of Sense see his self-interested Disposition. All Men know how ready he is to give up what he calls the Interest of his Country, by some Observations which every one made in the Opening of his present Majesty's Reign. All Men see how ready he is to give up his Prince, by his hasty and violent Opposition on the Settlement of the Ministry. And how eagerly disposed he is to give up the Constitution, may be seen by his intrepid Invasions of the King, and of the Royal Title. If this is Popularity, I leave him the Glory of it: But I can assure him, that all the Whigs in the Kingdom are duly sensible what these Measures tend to; and they who remember their Country in so much Distress, whilst the Co-partner of this virtuous Cause was a Minister, well understand what would be the Consequence, should they be able to distress the present Administration. What would be the Case of the *British Allies*, should a Person prevail among us who broke our Faith with all our Allies, and gave up the Honour of his native Country in all his Negotiations? What would be the Case of the *Protestant Dissenters*, should the Patron of the *Schism-Bill* come again into the Management of Parliamentary Councils? What would be the Case of our Merchants, should the Projector of the *French Commerce Bill* have the Direction of our Affairs? And indeed, What would be the Case of us all, should those who boast themselves our truest Patriots, be no better than his slavish Pupils?

I have taken these Pains, to shew these Gentlemen and their Principles in the strongest Light; because I think that no Man who is an *Englishman* and a *Whig*, can honestly or patiently submit to see Persons impose themselves as such upon the People of England, which very Persons have forfeited and abandoned those Characters in every Action. I have shew'd this altogether from their publick Behaviour. I scorn to enter into private Life; I abhor to copy from their ever-memorable Proper Reply, or from any of their other

Albby Libels, which have spared no *Family Affairs*, no *Personal Secrets*, or *Private Correspondencies*. And indeed their Practices have been so open to the World, that these Gentlemen have rendered it equally unnecessary, as it is really disagreeable to me to imitate them, in disclosing *Secret History*; as, on their *part*, they have found so little to accuse in the Publick Transactions of the Ministry, that from this very *Deficiency of Argument*, they have loaded their scandalous Libels with such an Abundance of *private and infamous Abuse*.

As I am to now conclude this Pamphlet, I must indulge the Pleasure of observing what a virtuous and uniform Conclusion Mr. Oldcastle lately hath made of his great Undertaking in the *Craftsman*. He hath, for the Course of the last Year, employed his able Pen in making *Remarks* on the History of England. He begun with professing a Design to raise the *Spirit of Liberty* against the Administration: He went on with libelling *all the Royal Family*, and ended with a Vindication of the late Lord B——— A noble Subject to raise a *spirit* on! Such is that *spirit* which acts against the Ministers: Such the *Investives* and *Apologies* which come from these Men. In truth, I hope that they who abuse this Ministry, and affront the Prince on the Throne, will always vindicate such honest Men as Lord B. for then it will no longer remain a Doubt, for whose sake, and with what Design, such wonderful Works are carried on.

I will add one useful Reflection to these Remarks: That the Man who had the Impudence to oppose His present most sacred Majesty, when he demanded a *Writ of Right*; I mean the *Writ of Summons* to Parliament, lawfully due to him, in consequence of his having been created Duke of Cambridge; and who afterwards caused the Elector of Hanover's Minister to be forbid the Court, for no other Crime, than having demanded that *Writ*: It is worthy of such a Man, to complain of much Cruelty done to himself, in being deprived of that Peerage which he forfeited by *High Treason*; and of that Place in Parliament, which he would not allow to a Prince of the Blood, an Heir Apparent to the British Crown, even our present most Gracious Sovereign; at the very same time too, when the Ministers poured into that House Troops of their own Creatures, even a Dozen at one Creation. An insolent, arbitrary Procedure, equally injurious to the Right of that Illustrious Person, and to the Independency of the House of Peers; since those who advised the wicked Refusal, assumed a greater Prerogative than the Crown of Great Britain is possessed of; namely, in secluding Peers from their Seats in Parliament by mere Will and Pleasure; as also in daring to deter-

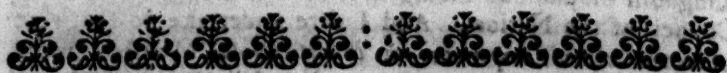
mine

mine, by *their own lawless Authority*, what Peers of this Kingdom should, or should not, sit and vote in the Great Council of the Nation. And I dare undertake to say, that *however wicked, impetuous, or lawless* those Ministers were in the Exercise of their Power, that still they would not have *dared* to have deny'd this Great Prince his Claim of Right to sit in Parliament, had they ever *thought* or *intended* that he should one Day be *King of GREAT BRITAIN*, and *sit on the Throne of this Kingdom*. Those who deny'd him the *Right of His Peerage*, would as freely have deny'd him his *Right of Succession*: And if they should ever have it in their Power, they would with *as little Scruple* deny him his *Seat in the Throne*, as they once deny'd him his *Seat in the House of Lords*.

Letter to the most noble Author.



your
to take it off
balance in
Corruption.
I shall therefore
and show you in
to the World, which
your Practices deliver
know your Power, and
your standards Abuse
but I shall not be
for the more detestable
you in your proper Colours.
You may, if you please, indulge your little Rage
against Printers and Booksellers. You may endeavour
to prevent the Discovery of your Guilt, and
suppress all Writings, except your own, by arbitrary
Licences, Censures and Proscriptions. You may
go on in misapplying the public Treasury, and pro-
moting your Royal Affairs. I am in your own
debt of service. But you shall know, Sir, that you
have Men to deal with, and will find them an hard



An ANSWER to one Part of a late infamous LIBEL, Intituled, REMARKS on the CRAFTSMAN'S Vindication of his two Honourable PATRONS; in which the Character and Conduct of Mr. P. is fully vindicated. In a Letter to the most noble AUTHOR.

Hominem esse arbitror neminem, qui Istius audierit, quin Facta quoque Ejus nefaria commemorare possit; ut mihi magis timendum sit ne multa Crimina prætermittere, quàm ne qua in Istum fingere existimer. C I C.

Most Noble SIR,

THE Mask hath been long taken off on your Side. It is now high Time to take it off on the other; since your private Insolence is grown as insupportable as your publick Corruption. I shall therefore speak to you without any Disguise, and shew you in that Light to the World, which your Practices deserve. I know your Power, and your scandalous Abuse of it; but That shall not deter me from describing you in your proper Colours. You may, if you please, indulge your little Rage against Printers and Booksellers. You may endeavour to prevent the Discovery of your Guilt, and suppress all Writings, except your own, by arbitrary Warrants, Seizures and Prosecutions. You may go on in misapplying the publick Treasure, and prostituting your Royal Master's Name in your own dirty Service. But you shall know, Sir, that you have Men to deal with, and whilst there is an Hand
able

able to write, or a Press open in the Kingdom, your infamous Scurrility shall not go unanswer'd.

In your *last Libel*, which bears the most evident Marks of its Parent, You have been pleas'd to load *two Gentlemen* with such unprecedented Abuse as no Heart but yours could dictate, and nothing but your Power could usher into the World — What a Pleasure must it be to reflect that your *Character* alone is sufficient to destroy the Effects of your *Rage*? But since you have given us so fair an opening, it may be of use to let the World into some farther Particulars.

I shall confine my self, in this Letter, to the Character of *one of these Gentlemen*, with whose Conduct in general I am best acquainted, and from whom I have had an Opportunity, from a long Intimacy, of receiving particular Information concerning those *secret Transactions*, which you have thought fit to disclose, and could not otherwise lye open to my own Observation.

It cannot be expected that I should enter into any Defence of the Administration and Measures of the *four last Years of Queen ANNE*, because the *Gentleman*, whose Vindication I have undertaken, oppos'd most of those Measures, and still condemns them; but may not *two Gentlemen*, who formerly differ'd about the Conduct of publick Affairs, concur in their Sentiments about the Conduct of Affairs at present, without any Imputation on their Characters, or any Regard to what was done almost twenty Years ago? If the *Ministers* of those Times did many things ill, have not you, Sir, done things ten Times worse? Were there, at that Time, any *unlimited Votes of Credit*? Was there such a scandalous Profusion of *Pensions* and *secret Service Money*? The Necessity they brought themselves under of making a Peace with *France* render'd them dependent on *France*, and they were oblig'd to submit to unequal Terms compared with the vast Successes we had, during the War; but can you, Sir, offer to reproach *those Ministers*, and upbraid them with *those Measures*; you, Sir, who have brought your Country, by a continued Series of Blunders, into Circumstances infinitely worse than they left it? — The *Gentle-*

man, whom I defend is consistent with himself. He could not approve the Treaty of *Utracht*, much less could he approve the Treaty of *Seville*, or any other of your *late Treaties*.——He condemn'd the Measures of the *four last Years of Queen ANNE*; and he, *a fortiori*, condemns your Measures for the *last ten Years*, upon the same Principles of Reasoning; for whatever Miscarriages, or even Misdemeanours may be justly charged upon those Times, you, Sir, are the last Person in the Kingdom, who ought to reproach the Ministers with them, since your own Conduct is an ample Apology for them——With what Design then are these Things mentioned? What pass'd so many Years ago cannot be recalled; and if any thing was done amiss, the only Use of reviving those Transactions is, to avoid the same Errors in our present Conduct. But this is not your Design. You are in Hopes of diverting the Attention of the Publick from your *own Actions*. You want to put us off from the Scent of what is doing at present, and draw us into a Dispute about things which pass'd in another Administration. You may think your self extremely cunning in trying this Stratagem; but no body will be so weak as to bite at the Bait.

Before I enter into the particular Branches of the Charge, which you have exhibited against this *Gentleman*, without any Foundation of Truth or Honour, I must take Notice that it is impossible to collect thro' the whole Course of your *Remarks*, to whom you impute *that Letter*, which occasion'd this Piece of Scurrility. Sometimes it is Lord B. sometimes Mr. P. whom you call the Patrons of the *Craftsman*; and, in other Places, it is the *Craftsman* himself——Let us therefore state the Case fairly between *You* and the *Gentleman*, whom I defend.

A Letter is published in the *Craftsman*, in which some Compliments are paid to *this Gentleman*; whose Character, perhaps, is set off to a greater Advantage than it deserves. His Conduct in publick Life is very highly commended; and you, Sir, who was always his Enemy, thought this a sufficient Foundation to revile, abuse and asperse him, by way of Answer, and to load him with all the Calumny, that you could possibly crowd into a *Billingsgate Pamphlet*,

let, without enquiring whether he so much as knew of the Honour intended him; or, if he did, whether he approved it or not. It is very possible he might not like the many fine things which were said of him, and could have wished they had never been said; but surely nothing can justify such an Heap of Scurrility as is contained in *this Libel*—Don't think to retort the Charge upon us, by saying that we attack you in the same manner, without enquiring whether you was the Author of *this Pamphlet*, or approved of it. We know very well that you have already taken Pains to disown it, for fear of a Reply; but there are several Passages of *secret History* in it, falsely stated and misrepresented, which could come from no body but your self. You might, perhaps, employ some of your *Mercenaries* to work them up for you; but the Ingredients are certainly your own.

I am told that you have lately taken the most eminent Authors of the *Dunciad* into your Pay, and employ them in your Cause, either for Offence or Defence, as Occasion requires. The *late Pieces*, utter'd in your Service, seem to put this Point beyond all Dispute. As much as you affected to despise all *Writers*, you was oblig'd at last to fly to them for Protection. You beat up for *Voluntiers*; but it was too late. No Man, of *Parts and Honesty*, would list in your Service, notwithstanding the large *Bounty-Money* you offered, and the numerous *Recruiting-Officers* you employed in your Service. You have, indeed, a numerous Body of Troops in your Pay; but what are they? A loose, disorderly Rabble; a meer *Turkish Army of Scriblers*, well enough adapted to your *own Politicks*.——But let us come to the Subject of this Letter.

The first Point you undertake to prove against *this Gentleman* is, that “ He hath changed his Notions of Right and Wrong in Matters of Government, and renounced the Principles of good Policy, which he formerly professed.

To support this Accusation, you are pleas'd to tell us, “ That he hath attacked the Royal Title to the Crown, and invaded the Prince on the Throne; invaded him even in open Parliament, by charging

" him with having broken the Terms of the *Act of*
 " *Settlement* ; by insisting that the *Act of Settlement*
 " is his Majesty's only Tenure, by which he holds
 " his Crown; by suggesting that the Care of his
 " *foreign Dominions* was in Breach of *that Act*,
 " and leaving others to conclude that the Terms
 " were broken, the Title was forfeited, and the
 " Throne was thereby become vacant."—You then
 ask, in your great Candour, " whether any Title in
 " in this World was ever impeached, but with a
 " View to change the Possession?"

This is such an extraordinary Chain of Reason-
 ing, and at the same Time such an infamous Mis-
 representation of Fact, absolutely void of all Regard
 to Truth, that I will condescend, for once, to give
 it a particular Examination.

The Gentleman accused in this Manner, hath
 thought himself oblig'd, upon several Occasions, to
 oppose the Continuance of 12000 *Hessian Troops* in
 the Pay of *Great Britain*, which amounts to a yearly
Land-Tax of Six-pence in the Pound, and hath already
 cost the Nation above 1200000*l.* Amongst other
 Reasons for discharging *these Troops*, he mentioned
 the *Act of Settlement*, which hath wisely provided
 that *Great Britain* shall never be at any Expence, on
 Account of any *foreign Dominions*, which may hap-
 pen to belong to her future Kings, *without the Con-*
sent of Parliament. The Gentleman, whom I defend,
 endeavour'd to persuade the *House*, as a *Member of*
Parliament hath a Right to do, not to dispense with
 this Limitation in the present Case; because he ap-
 prehended that the Continuance of *these Troops* could
 be of no Service, and were certainly of a very great
 Expence to this Nation. What he said, upon this
 Head, was not intended as a Charge against the
King, but only as a Motive to the *House of Com-*
mons, by putting them in Mind that it tended to in-
 validate, and was in Contravention to one of the
 Limitations of the *Act of Settlement*.—He might
 take Notice, perhaps, that too much Regard had
 been paid to his Majesty's *German Dominions*; but I
 am sure he never said that this was a Breach of the
Act of Settlement. He might observe that the *Act of*
Settlement was the only Tenure, by which his Majesty
 holds

holds his Crown; and I will defy you, Sir, to mention any other *Tenure*, upon which he can depend——It is the *strongest* and *most glorious Tenure*, by which any Prince can hold his Crown.

Thus stands the Fact; and I will leave the World to determine whether any Man, who had any Regard to Decency, Conscience, or even common Honesty, would put such an Interpretation upon Words so very innocent, and even laudable in themselves——Is this *attacking the Royal Title to the Crown*?——Is this *invading the Prince on the Throne*?——Is this *charging him with having broken the Act of Settlement, and leaving others to conclude that the Throne is become vacant*?——No, Sir, I believe there was not one Man in the whole House, who concluded this to be his Meaning, except yourself; and I would even appeal to your own Judgment, if I could put any Trust in your Declarations.

The *Act of Settlement* is a complicated Bill, consisting of various Conditions, some of much less Importance than others; which are left to the farther Discretion of Parliament——For Instance, there is one Clause of a very essential Nature, which limits the Succession of the Crown to the *present Royal Family*, as long as they continue *Protestants*. I think I may call this indispensable; because it is the Foundation of the *present Establishment*——There was another Clause in it, which prohibited the Possessor of the Throne from going out of the Kingdom *without Consent of Parliament*. This was repealed soon after his late Majesty's Accession; but supposing it had not been repealed, and that a sudden Exigence of State had made it necessary for his late Majesty to go out of the Kingdom, before he could call his Parliament together for their Consent; will any Man say, that even in this Case he would have *forfeited his Title to the Crown*? No Man certainly would say it. As the Condition was not *fundamental* in itself, so an occasional Deviation from it, on a particular extraordinary Emergence, could not have been interpreted a *Forfeiture of the Royal Title*.——In like Manner, if any bad Consequences should hereafter arise from the Repeal of this Limitation

mitation (suppose for Instance, that some future Prince should think fit to reside chiefly abroad) might not any *Member of the House of Commons* complain of it, and offer his Reasons for putting it in Force again, without incurring such a grievous Imputation as that of *attacking the Royal Title, and declaring the Throne vacant*? Is there not a manifest Difference between the King's obtaining the *Consent of his Parliament*, upon such an Occasion, and breaking through these Limitations without their Authority? — But no body can be surprized at such monstrous Constructions in *One* who hath used his utmost Endeavours to bring all our Liberties into Contempt, in order to make the Conquest of them more easy.

Believe me, good Sir, that whenever you endeavour to fix *Jacobitism* upon *this Gentleman*, you will always miscarry in your Design. Such Insinuations will never find Credit in any Place, unless it be in a *certain Closet*, where you have frequent Opportunities of working upon the Passions by false Representations, and instilling the Sentiments of your own *bad Heart*, without Contradiction. I dare say *this Closet* is the only Place in the Kingdom, where your Assertions can gain any Belief, or where the *Gentleman*, whom you traduce, can be thought a *Jacobite*, even for half an Hour. — Good God! what a Multitude of *Falshoods* must you have told in *this Closet*? There is a current Report, that the *Person* with whom you converse there, hath lately detected you in some of them, and hath told you very plainly that you *lyed*; nay, as he knows you Thoroughly, and must hate you heartily, that he hath likewise given you some *certain Appellations*, which, however justly they may belong to you, I think, at present, a little too harsh for me to repeat in publick.

The Gentleman whom I defend, was not only educated in *Whig Principles*, but hath always, and I dare say, will always act upon them. He was ever zealously attached to the Protestant Succession in the present Royal Family. He is still zealous for the Support of it; and if, by the Influence of your pernicious Counsels, the Affections of the People should ever be so far alienated as to bring his Majesty's

notation

Title

Title into Dispute or Danger, (which God forbid!) he will venture his Life and Fortune as far as any Man in the Defence of it.——He cannot at the same time be so great a Sycophant, as to say, *That the People are allowed greater Liberties than ever were at any time heretofore known, or enjoyed amongst us.* We enjoy the *Liberties* we ought to enjoy, and no more. We have as good a Right to them, as the King hath to his *Crown*.

Another Proof that *this Gentleman* hath deserted his old Principles, is, " That he hath gone over to the *Tories*, and constantly votes in Conjunction with a " Body of Men, sworn Enemies to *Whigs*, to *Whig Establishments*, and to all *Whig Principles*——" But how does this appear? his *voting in Conjunction with the Tories*, is no Proof that *he hath gone over to the Tories*, any more than *their voting in Conjunction with him*, is a Proof that *they are come over to him*, so as to be led and govern'd by him. Does he concur with them in any thing but *Whig Points*, upon *Whig Principles*, and in Opposition to Measures destructive of the Constitution?——But why is *this Gentleman* particularly mark'd out as Convert to the *Tories*? If *voting in Conjunction with the Tories*, is to be look'd on as *going over to the Tories*, this Charge will equally include *all the Gentlemen in the Minority*, who have the Honour to dissent from you within Doors. It will include *that great Majority of the Nation*, which openly inveighs against your Measures without Doors. Nay, it will include even *your own dear self*, and I will undertake to prove you to have been a *Jacobite* (pray, Sir, don't startle at the Name) by the same Rule——Did not you formerly *vote in Conjunction with the very same Persons*, when you distinguished your self by the Name of a *Country Gentleman*?——Did you not *act in concert with them* upon all Occasions; and was you not as much led and govern'd by them as *this Gentleman*? Were the *Tories* less Enemies to *Whigs*, *Whig Establishments*, and *Whig Principles* at that Time, than they are at present?——Did you then discover any Qualms at the Transactions of the *four last Years of Queen Anne*; or think yourself obliged in Conscience never to join with a Set of Gentlemen,
when

when you thought them *in the Right*, because you formerly thought them *in the Wrong*? — I will go farther, Sir, and maintain you have been a *Jacobite*, according to your own Doctrine, and in the Interest of the *Pretender*, even since your last blest Restoration to Power? — Have you not taken several *Tories*, *veteran Tories* (I will not call them *Jacobites*) into your Administration — Was not one of them excepted out of an *Act of Grace* in his late Majesty's Reign; and did not others lye under the same Imputation of Disaffection? — Did you “not constantly vote in Conjunction, and act in concert with these Men?” I am loth to rake up the Ashes of the Dead, though you are pleas'd to tell us, “That neither Decency nor Modesty forbids the just Defence of a Character under Accusation;” but the Reader's Reflection will spare me that ungrateful Task; and I believe it would be no difficult Matter to point out some Persons of the same Stamp, amongst the *present Copartners of your Power*; or, if that Expression should give you Offence, the Instruments of your Administration. — Shall we then say that you are gone over to the *Tories*? — Shall we presume to insinuate, that the most noble Knight is turn'd a *Jacobite*, and suffers himself to be governed by Men, who oppos'd the Revolution, and labour'd for many Years with all their Might, to impose the *Pretender* on the *British Nation*? — God forbid! — I know very well that you have a Distinction in Reserve, which hath been often made use of by you and your ingenious Mercenaries, upon these Occasions. It is compriz'd in a very laconick Stile, and runs thus. — “When a *Tory* or a *Jacobite*, or a *Papist* comes into my Measures, it is a plain Sign that he is a very good *Whig*; but when any known *Whig*, who opposes me, happens to concur with a reputed *Tory*, nothing can be more evident than that he hath deserted his Principles, is turn'd a *Jacobite*, and hath a Design of bringing in the *Pretender*.”

But give me leave to tell you, dear Sir, that such Stuff will not pass. The senseless Distinction of *Whig* and *Tory* is, God be prais'd, almost sunk in a general Concern for the national Interest; and will, I hope,

I hope, be soon intirely abolished, notwithstanding all your Endeavours, for vile Ends, to keep those fatal Animosities alive. The *Whigs*, who oppose you, are neither govern'd by the *Tories*, nor are the *Tories* govern'd by them; but they act in Concert together (and may they long continue to do so!) because it is their united Opinion, that you are a *wicked*, as well as a *weak Minister*, and have almost brought this Nation to the Brink of Ruin.

The next Charge against *this Gentleman*, is, That *he opposes the King's Affairs in general, and attempts to distress the publick Service in every Branch of the Government.*

I presume, *noble Sir*, you would have the *King's Affairs*, and the *publick Service* understood in this Paragraph, as synonymous Terms; and so indeed they ought always to be understood. If this is your Meaning, I defy you to prove that the *Gentleman*, whom you accuse, *opposes the King's Affairs in general, or attempts to distress the publick Service*; that is, to obstruct any thing, which is evidently calculated for the true Interest of the Nation. I could give several Instances of national Points, which are chiefly owing to him. I could mention several others, which he hath been very instrumental in promoting, and many more, which he never attempted to defeat, since his Opposition to you. Nay, even in the *King's own private Affairs*, he hath shewn all the Regard for his Majesty's Honour, and the Dignity of the Crown, which is consistent with the good of the Publick. You are pleased, *good Sir*, to reproach him with one Instance of this Kind, of which I shall take notice in its proper Place. — But if you include *your self* and your own dirty Projects (as I very much suspect you do) in the general Terms of the *King's Affairs*, and the *publick Service*; it must be confessed indeed, that *this Gentleman* hath constantly opposed them, and, I hope, will always attempt to distress them. — It is the most shining Part of his Character, and will transmit his Name with Honour to Posterity.

I do not remember *that he struggled to put off the common Supplies of the present Year*; but if he did, would any *Whig*, of former Times, have reproached him

him with it ; or call'd it acting like a *Tory* ?—— If he saw a manifest Design of hurrying on the *Session*, and precipitating the *Supplies*, was he to blame in endeavouring to keep them back a little, when no urgent Necessity press'd for the Dispatch of them, that the *House* might have Time to look into *other Affairs*, and pass some *other useful Bills*, as well as *Money-Bills* ?—— Is this, I say, going over to the *Tories*, or acting upon *Tory Principles* ?

I could produce Instances of Times, when even the *common and necessary Supplies for the current Service of the Year* have been opposed and refused in *Whig Parliaments*, in order to distress a *corrupt Ministry*, whom they did not think proper to be intrusted with the publick Money ; and I could mention *some much wiser Men than your self*, who have acted upon this Principle, in former Reigns, and justify'd their Conduct upon it ; but this would be needless ; because here again we are authorized by your *own illustrious Example* ; for how will you be able to vindicate your own Conduct either in the *late Reign*, or in that of *Queen Anne*, upon any other Principle ?—— Will you offer to say that you never voted against the *common Supplies*, or attempted to distress the *publick Service* ?—— Look into the *Defection consider'd*, and see what is there said of you upon this Head—— The Thing is so notorious, that it would be arrant Trifling to enter into the Proof of it ; and I believe, even *You* will hardly have the Front to deny it.

This Gentleman is farther charged with having lately declared his Opinion, that not one Treaty, signed within these sixteen Years, was even made, or so much as intended, for the Good of this Kingdom.

I heartily wish, not for your Sake, but for the Good of the *Publick*, that there may not be too much Truth in this Declaration ; which can appear only by a particular Examination of those *Treaties* ; and this cannot be done at present.

But, in order to aggravate the Guilt of this Declaration, it is added, " That the *Gentleman accus'd* formerly voted those very *Treaties* honourable, and asserted those *Alliances* to be necessary, which he now condemns"—— This is another downright Falshood.

hood. He is not answerable for any of those *filly Treaties*, which the Course of *sixteen Years* have produced. As he had no Share in the Negotiation of them, so it never fell in in his Way, till very lately, to express any Opinion of them in Parliament. Whilst he was in Employment, his Business was of another Nature, and he is at full Liberty to declare, without any Inconsistency, that not one of the *Treaties* made within this Time, would have been necessary, if it was not for his Majesty's *German Dominions*. The *first Treaty*, that was made, in the Year 1716, was for the Sake of the *Emperor's general Guaranty* of all *Dominions*, which each of the contracting *Parties* possessed at that time. What Use could the *Emperor's Guaranty* be of to the *British Dominions*, or the *Protestant Succession*? We live in an Island, of great maritime Force, and can support our selves and our own Possessions, without any other Guaranty than the Affections of the People.—— But the *Emperor's Guaranty* is apparently of the utmost Service to his Majesty's *foreign Dominions*.—— The *Quadruple Alliance* was form'd, when this Gentleman was abroad; and all that plentiful Crop of *Treaties*, which hath been produced since, are but of very little Use to *Great Britain*, as her Interest is solely concern'd; so that in this Particular likewise the Gentleman is intirely consistent with himself.

I believe this will be thought a sufficient Answer to the different Branches of the Charge brought against the Gentleman, whom I defend, *that he hath changed his Notions of Right and Wrong in Matters of Government, and renounced the Principles of good Policy, which he formerly profess'd.*

If the Conduct of your Life, *Most Noble Sir*, was to be scrutiniz'd in the same Manner, what an odd Medley of Inconsistencies should we discover? for though *You* was educated in *Whig Principles* as well as *this Gentleman*, you have not only acted in concert with *Tories*, upon several Occasions, but adopted the worst Principles, in your late Conduct, that the most extravagant Bigots of *that Party* ever advanced—— Scarce two Years together of your Life have been of a Piece—— You have been an intemperate Zealot against *France*; a most obsequious

ous Dupe to *France* ; and seem to be now relapsing into your old Aversion to *France* again—— You have courted and provoked *Spain* by Turns, in the same capricious Manner, without any good Reason for *either*——It was not long ago that *you* and your *Mercenaries* asserted, that the Peace of *Utrecht* left *France* too weak, and made the *Emperor* too strong ; but your Change of Measures hath altered your Opinion in that Point.—— In short, you have gone from Court to Court, fluctuated from Expedient to Expedient, knock'd down one Treaty with another, and trod in a constant Circle of Inconsistencies and Contradictions.

But now, *Sir*, as your Blood grows warm, you advance in your Charge, and bring a heavier Accusation against *this Gentleman* than that of having changed his Notions in Matters of Government. You accuse him of Corruption. The Words are, *that whilst he concurred with the Government, he never opposed either publick Profusion, or private Corruption ; that he himself shared the Bounties, and added to the Pensions of the Crown.*

Would not any one, upon reading this Paragraph, conclude that *Mr. P.* hath frequently obtained *beneficial Grants*, and been a constant *Pensioner* on the *Crown* ? And yet he defies the whole World to prove that he ever received any Thing from the *Crown* but a Present, which his late Majesty made him, of the *Journals of Parliament*. You once descended so low as to reproach him with this Present in the *House* ; but so much to your own Shame and Confusion, that I thought you would never have ventur'd to mention it again. Surely, it little becomes you to reproach any Body with what they obtain from the *Crown*. A Man, who hath had so many Grants, and such a Number of great Employments for himself and his Family, shou'd be always silent on this Head.—— This brings to my Mind a most pitiful, little, dirty Job of yours, which I believe is not publickly known.

When the *late King* went abroad, and both the *Secretaries* attended him (from some Jealousy, perhaps, of each other) it was necessary to appoint another for carrying on the Business at home ; and left some-

somebody, whom you did not like, should be appointed, you offer'd to do the Business *yourself*; which was little more than transmitting the Letters, and other Things of Form; but though you had scarce any Trouble in this Affair; though you had, God knows, many other lucrative Employments; and though you was in it only as a Stop-gap, for a few Months; yet you paid yourself the *full Appointments* for the Time; nay, what is still more monstrous, gave your self the very *Plate*, as if you had actually been made *Secretary of State* in Form, and for a Continuance. I believe I may add, that this is not the only Instance, in which you have sign'd the Warrant, as *Head of the Treasury*, for paying your self in *other Employments*—— Why, all the *Journals* together did not, I dare say, cost so much as even your *Plate* only, for being *Secretary* but four Months—— Well; but hath not *this Gentleman* had a *Pension*? No; you know he scorns it, and wonders how any Man of Honour can submit to take one—— Hath he recommended any *poor Relation*, or *Friend*, for a *Pension*? No; not for *Twenty Pounds a Year*—— What then can be meant by this Passage, *that he hath added to the Pensions of the Crown*? Why, a scandalous Insinuation, reflecting on the Character of a *noble Person*, who is infinitely your Superior; *One*, to whose Father you owe the greatest Obligations; *One*, who hath all the Honour, Virtue and Integrity of his Father; and whom I should be unwilling even to vindicate from so foul an Aspersion, if you had not often repeated the same Thing in private Conversation.

You would have it understood, *Sir*, by this Passage, that the *Gentleman's* insisting to be made *Cofjerer* rendered it necessary for you to provide some other Employment for the *Person*, who enjoy'd it, and that this oblig'd you to give him the great Employment, he now enjoys, which you have the Insolence to call a *Pension*, and to say that the *Gentleman* I defend oblig'd you to add, in this Manner, to the *Pensions of the Crown*—— The Truth of the Case is this. When that great Inheritance devolved to this *honourable Person*, it was generally imagined that some Compliments (how little desirous

soever he might be of them himself) would be paid to him, by an Increase of *Honours*, an Offer of the *Garter*, or the like, and that this Employment would be scarce worth troubling himself with any longer. Upon this Foot it was mentioned by a Friend of Mr. P. to the *Minister*; and upon this Foot, and no other, he expressed his Inclination to accept of it; but he had not the Vanity to think himself of consequence enough to thrust out this *noble Person*, for whom he always had the highest Esteem, and to force him into the Circumstance of becoming (as you insolently assert) a *Pensioner on the Crown*.——My Regard for the Honour of this *great Person*, hath made me dwell longer on this Point; and if he hath formerly had any Regard or Partiality for the *Author of this Obloquy*, I dare say he will for the future, look on him with that Contempt, which such a vile Insinuation deserves.

As for the *Gentleman* whom I defend, you tell us, *That the genuine Rise of his publick Spirit, was from the Corruption of his own Heart*.——Alas! dear Sir, the *Corruption of thy Heart and Hands* too hath been long ago recorded; but as the Corruption of *this Gentleman* hath been hitherto a Secret to the World, you would do mighty well to give us some Instances of it.——If you had any such Anecdotes in your Power, I presume we should have seen them long ago.

If you mean, Sir, that *this Gentleman* is answerable for all the *Pensions, Bribes and Gratuities*, which you have thought fit to lavish away upon your *Creatures, Dependents and Advocates*, in order to defeat his Opposition, and support your self in Power, against the general Clamour of the Nation; I am afraid I have undertaken a very difficult Task; for if this Load of *Corruption* ought to be saddled upon him as the original Cause of it, how shall I defend him?——Don't you remember the Case of another publick *Plunderer*, of a lower Rank, who endeavoured to screen himself from Punishment by *bribing the Jury*; and, being detected in it, laid all the Blame upon his *Prosecutors*, and the *Courts*, whom he charg'd with having entered into a manifest Combination to take away his Life?

But

But you tell us, "That there was a Time when he thought it the highest Honour and first Distinction of his Life, to be ranked in the Number of that great Man's Friends (*meaning your self*), whose very Name and Character have given him the small Consideration which he hath found even in his Opposition."

Very modestly said truly! — The only Misfortune is, that this likewise happens to be false, like most of your other Assertions; for I am well assured, that *this Gentleman* was so far from ever *thinking it the highest Honour and the first Distinction of his Life, to be ranked in the Number of your Friends*, that at the very Time when he acted with you, and endeavoured to support you, he had much the same Opinion of your *private Character*, which he hath at present. Do you think that all those who who play'd at *Nine pins* with you in the Tower, had, for that Reason, any Regard for you, on account of your *personal Integrity*, any more than many Persons who act with you at present? — No; these are the unhappy Effects of *Party Prejudices*, which often depress Men of the greatest Abilities, whilst the most unworthy are exalted. Have we not an Instance of this, in the Case of the *other Gentleman*, aspersed in your *Libel*, who hath been prevented by this Misfortune, from exerting his unquestionable Capacities in the Service of his Country, whilst such a *Pedlar in Politicks* as your self, have been thrust up into the highest Station, and had the Power of acting so long, to the infinite Dishonour and Detriment of the Nation.

But supposing the *Gentleman*, under Consideration, ever really had that high Opinion of you which you and your *Dunciad Advocates* are willing to make the World believe! what is it to the Purpose? — Is it not possible for a Man, who sets out in the World with a *good Character*, to forfeit it afterwards? and is it necessary for every Person, who was his Friend, whilst he seemed to act upon *honest Principles*, to continue so, when his Actions discover the contrary? — Your great Predecessors, *Sejanus, Wolsey and Buckingham*, might be very *honest Men*, for ought I know, before their Heads were

turned giddy with exorbitant Power, and any Person, perhaps, might have been proud of their Friendship; but would any honest Man have continued in it, after they began to lord it over their Country, in so licentious and insolent a Manner?—Indeed, Sir, you should never insist on these Topicks in your *Libels*. They may do well enough in a *popular Assembly*, where you are sure of being heard with Patience at least; but you should never trust such idle Trash in *Print*!

In order to vindicate *this Gentleman* from the Charge of acting from Motives of *Disappointment* and *Revenge* (with which our Ears have been almost stunn'd for above these *four Years past*) it was ask'd, in the *Craftsman*, "Whether the Abuse which he apprehends you make of your Power? Whether Measures, which he fears are wicked, knows to be weak, and sees obstinately pursued, may not be his Motives?" To this you reply, *What an Heap of meer Possibilities are here started against a positive Charge?*—Pray, good Sir, how is this a *positive Charge?*—For want of *Facts* against *this Gentleman*, of which every Body is a Judge, you accuse him of acting from *bad Motives*, of which God only can judge; and then call this a *positive Charge?*

—We might as justly surmise that the Design of your long Endeavours to engross all Power to your self, and of accumulating Wealth in so exorbitant a Manner, was to *supplant the present Royal Family, and set your self on the Throne*. I say, we might accuse you of *such a Design*, and then call this *supposed Motive* a *positive Charge*, as justly as you accuse *this Gentleman* of acting from Motives of *Disappointment* and *Revenge*; nay, we might accuse you of it more justly; because the *Facts*, of *accumulating Wealth* and *engrossing Power*, upon which we might found our Accusation, are notorious and undeniable; whereas you are intirely destitute of any *Facts* to support your Charge.

But you desire to ask a few Questions——*Did he not expect, say you, and insist on a great Employment? Was he not disappointed and refused in this Expectation and Demand?* I say, positively, *No*; and the Proof lies upon *You*. Such a *positive Charge* as
this

this will admit of no other Answer than a *positive Denial*——But of this more hereafter.

Taking this Fact to be granted (*that he expected and insisted on a great Employment*) you go on most triumphantly in the following Strain——“ Had he “ been gratify’d, instead of being disappointed; had “ he been comply’d with, instead of being refused; “ would he have feared any *Wickedness*, or have “ found out any *Weakness* in this Administration? I “ defy him, *say you*, and all his Sophisters to contra- “ dict me in this.”——With what *Folly* and *Nonsense* do these few Words abound? For,

First, it seems to be acknowledged by your self, in this Paragraph, that you have been guilty both of *Wickedness* and *Weakness* in your Administration; and the only Suggestion is, that the *Gentleman*, against whom it is levelled, would neither have feared the one, or found out the other, had he been gratify’d in his Expectations, but would have conniv’d at both, like the present *Instruments of your Power*——What an excellent Defence hast thou here made of thy Administration; and what infinite Satisfaction must it give the good People of *England*? “ It is true, “ indeed, *say you*, that I have been guilty of a great “ deal of *Wickedness* and *Weakness*; but you may “ even set your Hearts at ease, *Gentlemen*; for I as- “ sure you, upon my Word and Honour, that if I “ had gratify’d Mr. P. in his Expectations, he would “ have let me go on, in the same Manner, as “ quietly as those, whom I have substituted in his “ Room.”

But, farther, these Words are as full of *Nonsense*, as they are of *Folly*——We are defied to *contradict you in this*——In what?——Why, that Mr. P. would not have been as *wicked as yourself*, and your *Instruments*, if he had succeeded in his supposed *Expectations*——We certainly could *contradict you in this*; but it is not our Way, to *contradict* any Man without some Proof; and this is a Point which will admit of none; for who can decide upon Contingencies? Who can pretend absolutely to determine what any *Gentleman* would have done in such a Case? For my Part, I will not be so great a Flatterer of this *Gentleman*, tho’ I have undertaken his

Defence, as to say what he would, or would not have done: But thus much I may say without any such Imputation, that all the probable Circumstances are against you from *this Gentleman's* former Behaviour, when in Employment. — Did he discover any *Weakness* or *Incapacity* to discharge those Offices which he hath had the Honour to fill? — Was he ever guilty of any *Weakness* and *Corruption* in them himself? or did he ever screen the *Wickedness* and *Corruption* of others? — We may therefore suppose, that if *this Gentleman* had been in Employment, he would not have given you an Opportunity of being guilty of so much *Weakness* and *Wickedness*; or, at least, not have concurr'd with you in any Measures, which he apprehended to be either *wicked* or *weak*. — Sure we are, that he oppos'd you in several favourite Points, while he was in Place; and this will immediately appear to be the Reason why he was thought not to be a proper Person to be continued in it.

Your next Paragraph deserves no Answer. When you are pleas'd to give us those *irrefragable Proofs* of *this Gentleman's Lust of Power, Appetite for Wealth, and over-bearing Spirit*, with which you say you could crowd innumerable Pages, We may be induc'd to take them into Consideration. At present, it will be sufficient to observe that *these Marks* most certainly distinguish your Character, whatever Analogy they may bear to that of the *Gentleman*, whom I defend.

You seem very angry that *this Gentleman* should be said to have contributed to your *Elevation*; and I promise you, he is very far from taking any Glory to himself from that Circumstance of his Life.

" I should be glad, say you, to know wherein this
" *important Person* contributed to the Minister's E-
" *levation*. — I shall not stop here to satisfy
you in this particular; because I shall be able, before
I go much further, to convince you, in some Mea-
sure, out of your own Mouth. — you proceed
thus. If I remember rightly, *this Minister* (mean-
" ing your self again) brought the *Gentleman* into
" Places, which he was no Ways intitled to, and
" when he was even more insignificant than he is
" at present. — Why really, Sir, bringing People into
Places

Places to which they are no ways intitled, hath been one of the most distinguishing Parts of your Life; but if you brought *this Gentleman* into Place, You was certainly a little inconsistent with your self, according to the Confession of one of your *Creatures*, if not your self; for in that ever-memorable Libel, properly called *Defamation Display'd*, it is said that "this Gentleman came into the World with all the Advantages that recommend Men to the Esteem, Favour and Approbation of Mankind." — But, perhaps, you might have been so good as to make him a Present of all these Advantages, at the same Time that you gave him his Places.

You seem, Sir, to have quite forgot your own Circumstances at the Time, when *this Gentleman* was first advanc'd to a publick Employment. "Whatever He might be, every Body knows that You, Sir, was much more insignificant at that Time than you are at present; and you might as well have said that he was rais'd by a *Wretch*, who had not Credit enough to raise an hundred Pounds upon his own Security."

You are now pleas'd to enter into the Examination whom We shall soonest suspect of being actuated by Sentiments of private Interest, *this Gentleman*, or the *Minister*; that is your self; and you determine it thus.

— "As to the Question, whom shall We soonest suspect? Let those, who consider the sparing, scraping Nature of the one, with the frank, liberal Heart of the other, fix the Charge of sordid Views on Him, to whom they think it justly belongs."

For my Part, I really never heard that *Avarice* was a distinguishing Quality in *this Gentleman's* Character, till You and your dirty *Mercenaries* endeavour'd to asperse him with it, to serve your own scandalous Purposes; nor will any Body, who hath the Honour to know him, believe it, though you should redouble your Pains to fix that Aspersions upon him.

— I believe, it would be no difficult Matter to produce several Instances of the contrary, upon various occasions, if it were either needful, or proper; but That would be paying too much Deference to your *Investive*, and too poor a Compliment to the *Gentleman's* Character.

A *just Oeconomy* in the Management of his private Fortune is surely no ways blameable. It is, on the contrary, an amiable virtue at all Times, peculiarly so at present, when *Luxury, Extravagance* and *Profusion* are almost grown epidemical Vices. In such an Age, *Oeconomy* is not only laudable, but even necessary to keep a Man independent of the Smiles or Frowns of a *Court*, which have too much Influence on publick Affairs. It is not in the least improbable, Sir, that This may be the Motive of all your late Resentment against *this Gentleman's Oeconomy and prudent Management*. Such Virtues cannot be agreeable to your Schemes; and a Man who seems to have a Design of *beggaring the Nation*, ought not to wish to see many Gentlemen in Opposition to Him, (though it is, at present, your unhappy Case) of plentiful Fortunes, and who live within their Income.

Every Gentleman hath certainly a Power over his *own Property*, and may dispose of it as He pleases; but amongst all *this Gentleman's sparing and scraping* (according to your candid Representation) did He ever *scrape* any unjust Gains out of the *Publick*?—Can you charge Him with one single Instance of *Corruption* in either of those Employments, through which He hath pass'd?—*Prove That*; for what you have hitherto said is nothing to the Purpose.—I need not put *You* in Mind of the Difference of your Behaviour in the *same Office*, which *this Gentleman* afterwards possessed. The *Journals of the House of Commons* save me that trouble; and, perhaps, *this Gentleman's* Presumption in deviating from so great an Example may have never been forgiven.

But who can forbear laughing to hear thy *frank liberal Heart* applauded?—What Instances hast Thou ever given; what Tokens hast Thou discover'd of it?—Do'st Thou call the Profusion of the publick Treasure on a worthless Crew of *Pimps Spies, Projectors*, and *abandoned Scribblers*, for thy own secret Service, Instances of *personal Generosity*?—Are These Marks of *real and disinterested Magnificence*?—At this Rate, *Catiline* was a Man of a *frank, liberal Heart*; for He had just such another Set of *profligate Wretches* about Him, and rewarded Them,

Them, in the same Manner, with the Plunder of of the Publick.

In the next Paragraph, you give us the *Rent-Roll* of *this Gentleman's* Estate, and an Account how He came by it — You say *that the Gentleman possesses an enormous Estate of above nine thousand Pounds per annum; ALL acquired only by a Secretary of the Treasury.* “ The *Minister's* Estate, far
“ from being exorbitant, was acquired in so high a
“ Station as at the *Head of that Treasury*, where the
“ *Gentleman's* little Possessions were pick'd up by
“ the *Secretary*; and which Possessions He, *this*
“ *Gentleman*, obtained the *Fee-simple* of by the Fa-
“ vour, Indulgence and Assistance of *that Minister*,
“ whom He hath sworn to destroy.”

What a Number of impudent silly Falshoods does this single Paragraph contain ? — I am very sensible that it can be of little Use, or Entertainment to the Publick, to give them a Detail of a *Gentleman's private Estate*; but you, Sir, have made it necessary for his Defence. You have brought a sort of a *Writ of Enquiry* against Him, and obliged Him to set forth not only the Particulars of it and his *Title* to it, but even an Account how it was originally acquired — But We must submit to the Task you have been pleased to impose upon us.

In the *first Place*, you are very particular in your Account of *this Gentleman's* Estate. One would imagine that you had made it your Business to enquire minutely into his Circumstances. If you have given your self this Trouble, you must have had the Mortification to discover that He is able to support Himself in the Resolution, if he hath really taken any, not to burthen Himself with the Load of any other Employment; but whether his Estate is more or less than is here represented, I dare answer for *this Gentleman*, that he is contented with it, whatever it may be; that he is very little solicitous about the Increase of it, and is determin'd not to be so unjust to his Posterity as to diminish it.

Well; but this Estate of *nine thousand Pounds per Annum* was acquired, you say, by a *Secretary of the Treasury*. Why, the *Secretaryship of the Treasury* is most certainly, Sir, a very good Employment; and

and for that Reason you have been extremely in the Right always to have either a *Brother* or a *Son* in it; but really, *Sir*, the *Secretary* you mention did not get *nine Thousand Pounds a Year* there; and yet, I think, He enjoyed that Employment, either solely or in Part, for *three successive Reigns*; after which he did not leave, at his Death, *forty Thousand Pounds* in Money (great Part of which he rais'd by Sale of his paternal Estate) and not above five Hundred Pounds a Year in Land, which came to him by Inheritance; Part of which is now a Lease from the *City*, and Part a Lease from a *Bishop*. — Here then We have plainly detected one Falshood.

You say farther, "That the Fee-simple of this " *nine Thousand Pounds per Annum* was obtained " of the Crown, on very easy Terms, by the Favour, Indulgence and Assistance of *that Minister*, " whom he hath sworn to destroy."

Would not the World be induced to believe, from this Assertion, (if any Body hath made it, except your self) that the *Gentleman's* whole Estate was a *Leasehold from the Crown*, and that You, in your great Goodness, have converted it into *Freehold*? — But let us see how this *Fact* will come out.

The Reader will perceive, from what hath been said, that the whole, which *this Gentleman* inherited from the *Secretary of the Treasury*, was not above *fifty Thousand Pounds*, or thereabouts, all in *Money* or *Leasehold Land*, from the *Church* and the *City of London*, which now remains such. How therefore could the *Fee-simple* of This be obtained from the *Crown*? — *Dear Sir*, inform your self better, before you venture to amuse the World again with such *personal Affairs*.

It is true, indeed, that *this Gentleman* hath a very large *Estate*, which hath been in his Family for many Generations. Some Part of this Estate was held by a *Lease from the Crown*; of which there was a Term of *Ninety-nine Years* to come after a Term, that was then in Being. His *Grandfather* left Part of his *Leasehold Estate* in *Trustees*, to be sold for the Purchase of other Lands of Inheritance. Upon this Occasion, He apply'd to the *Crown* to buy off the Inheritance, not as a Favour, but as a fair Purchaser, and was at the Expence of an *Act of Parliam^{ents}*

ment to obtain it. He paid more than *Sir Isaac Newton*, or any other Calculator, computes the Value of such a Purchase to be; for it cost Him altogether, with Charges, a *Year's Purchase* to make it Inheritance; and I believe no-body will pretend to argue that an Inheritance, after a Term of above an hundred Years to come, is worth one *Year's Purchase*; nor would *this Gentleman* have given one single Shilling for it, if it had not been to get his Estate out of *Trustees Hands*.

This is the Fact; and what was the Value of the Estate thus purchased? Not above twelve or thirteen hundred Pounds a Year; which is but a small Part of *this Gentleman's Estate*, even according to your own Calculation, most of which was Land of Inheritance before. How different, Sir, is this Story from what is related by you? What could possibly induce you to state it this Manner; or how could you entertain any Hopes of imposing so many Falshoods on the World? — It is very probable, indeed, that you might look upon it as a *dirty Job*, and therefore concluded that no-body, except your self, could have carry'd it through the *House*; but it was no more than an honest Purchase of the Inheritance of a small Part of *this Gentleman's Estate*, and the Fairness of the Bargain prevented all Opposition to the Progress of the Bill; whereas you represent this Affair, as if it was a Grant from the Crown; that the King was deceived in it, and the Parliament was deceived in it, and that you helped to deceive both. — This would really have been a Favour, if the Gentleman had had any Occasion for such *dirty Service*; but He always scorn'd to employ you, or any Man, in it; though it is very plain that you would have made no Scruple to be employed.

You see, by this Account, that the Gentleman inherited the greatest Part of his Estate from his Father; that much the most considerable share of that Estate was Inheritance before, and had been long in his Family; that He had above an hundred Years to come in the other Part, which He purchased dear enough by an Act of Parliament; and that what was left Him by the Secretary of the Treasury did not amount, in the whole, to fifty thousand Pounds, and
was

was all of it *personal Estate*, instead of being nine thousand Pounds *per Annum* in Land, as is here represented — What a consummate Impudence must you have, *Sir*, thus roundly to assert a Falshood, in which you was sure to be contradicted in a few Days? But abandoned Fellows never value the Shame of being detected, provided they think the Lye will be of some Service to them for a Day, or even for an Hour.

And now, *Sir*, having been forced to give you so very minute and circumstantial an Account of the Estate of *this Gentleman*, it seems not unreasonable to expect some Account of your own — Lord, *Sir*, if an Inquiry was to be made into this, what a Scene of Iniquity would be disclosed. It would be certainly one of the most curious secret Histories, that ever was published — If you was obliged to explain what your Estate is; where it lies; when you got it; how you got it; from whom you got it; what wonderful Discoveries should we make? — *Bribes* would appear without Number, from the Time of the *Scotch Forage Contract* to *Wood's Patent*. It must needs be a very entertaining Subject to read how much you have got at the Head of the Treasury, and how much in *Exchange Alley*; what *Jobs* contributed to the Building of your fine new House, (which you seem terribly afraid *this Gentleman* hath a Design of pulling down again) and what particular Mannors were bought with the Sale of *Honours, Places, Pensions, and Pardons*. We should see an Account of your Acquisitions by *Secret Service Money*, given to *fictitious Names*, and converted to your own use; as well as by the prudent Management of *Navy Bills, Army Debentures*, and other publick Securities, by which you have gain'd immensely, and ruin'd Thousands, from the infamous *Bank Contract* down to the last Bargain you made with the *East India Company* — I know but *one other Estate in England*, which hath been scraped together by such Means; and I make it a question whether all Mankind will not allow the Proprietor of it to be the honestest Man; *Him* I mean, whom you lately saved from the Gallows; and it is the only Thing you ever did in your Life for nothing, when you had an Opportunity of making a Penny;

but, alas! I have not time to say more of this, but

but perhaps, you might think the Similitude of your Characters and Circumstances made it impolittick to let him suffer the Punishment, which he deserved.

You seem, Sir, to be terribly afraid of *this Gentleman*; and the *Vow of Destruction*, which he is represented once to have made, seems to run strangely in your Head, notwithstanding all that hath been said to cure you of these dreadful Apprehensions. You call it *horrid Imprecation*, and your *Dunciad Advocates* have represented it, a thousand Times over, as the most *bloody-minded Vow*, that ever was made, becoming a *Polish Diet*, rather than an *English Parliament*. Now in this, Sir, I am obliged to differ from you, and think it perfectly agreeable to the Nature of an *English Parliament* (I mean an honest, uncorrupt one) to scrutinize into the Actions of *Ministers*, and even to destroy them, if they should appear to be either wicked or weak—I am pretty confident, Sir, that if an Accusation should be lodged against you, on either of *these Heads*, your *Ministry* would soon be destroyed, and this *terrible Vow* made good; which was, I believe, all that was meant by it——If therefore you are unreasonably frighten'd who can help your Pusillanimity? But prithee ben't too much cast down——It may look like Remorse of Conscience and be thought to proceed from an inward Conviction of Guilt——I doubt *Fear* is a principal Ingredient in your Constitution--Come, own the Truth for once. How often have you seen *this Gentleman* in your Dreams with *Axes* and *Halters*? How often have you started up in a Fright and called upon his Name?——It was this self-same Timidity, which once made you expose your self to him in a very ridiculous Manner——You may remember, Sir, that you came to him at Midnight, and though he had neither spoken to you, nor taken the least Notice of you for two Years before, that you surprized the Family, and desired to speak instantly with him. When he came to you, *Fear* had so possessed you, that you could scarce give the most simple Story, that ever was told, Utterance. With a pale Countenance, and a trembling Voice you told him, “ That a Man had writ you a Letter, discovering a
“ most horrid Plot against you, and that your House
“ was to be pulled down and plundered that very
“ Night.”

" Night." — Your Neighbour looked with Disdain upon you, and, with a Smile, asked you, whether you, who had been a *Minister* so long could still be afraid of a *Penny Post Letter*? This put you somewhat out of Countenance, however uncommon it may be; but recovering your self a little, you reply'd that this was more than a common *Penny-Post Letter*; for the Man, who had overheard the Conspiracy, had sign'd his Name; that he then lay wounded at the *George Tavern*, and Mr. *Jenkins*, your trusty Servant, had seen him — When you had related the whole Story, the *Gentleman* laugh'd at you extreemly; advis'd you to go home and sleep quietly, if you could, and he would warrant you that Night from any Harm — The next Morning you seem'd very much concern'd at your own Indiscretion, and spared no Pains to suppress the Story; but you had most ridiculously expos'd your self to your Neighbour, who had Reason enough before to have the utmost Contempt of you — Good Sir, how much might this foolish Piece of Intelligence have cost you? and what did your *frank liberal Heart* bestow upon this Occasion? I am apt to think that Generosity is far from being the strongest Principle residing in it.

I don't know how it comes to pass; but this Gentleman hath been set forth as a strange *Vower of Vows*. Sometimes he is represented vowing that he will compel you to give him a *great Employment*, because he laid down one, and compelled you to take another away. In the very next Page, he is drawn making a Solemn Vow never to accept of a Place of Trust or a Share in the *Ministry*, as long as he lives; because the Gentleman, who made him a Compliment in the *Craftsman*, deliver'd his Opinion that it would be hardly possible to persuade him to it. But as the *Vow of Destruction* seems to give some Uneasiness, I will endeavour to explain it, by acquainting the publick with a Particular, which I am sure will be as agreeable to them, as it may be disagreeable to you.

The Distress, in which you have involved your self, hath oblig'd you to tamper with several Gentlemen in the Opposition, and to put your own vile

Glosses

Glosses on these Negotiations, when you have fail'd in them. This hath induced them to consult one another upon this Head. I believe the Acquisitions, which you have lately made amongst them, will give you no additional Strength, or Credit, and it will be in vain for you to make any farther Attempts; for know, Sir, that they are come to a determin'd Resolution, and it is a Measure taken amongst them, not to listen to any *Treaty* of this Kind whatsoever or from whomsoever it may come, in which the first and principal Condition shall not be to deliver you up to the Justice of your Country.

You will probably call this a wicked Combination, and Association against you. No Sir; it is an honest Resolution to vindicate the Honour and assert the Laws of our Country. Your Crimes have made it necessary to enter into this Agreement, that all the World may see, and be convinc'd, on what Foot the Opposition is form'd; that it is against *You*, and *You only*, as a wicked *Minister*; and that the same Things may not be expected from Them, if any of Them should ever come into Employment, which your Conduct hath rendered almost Maxims of Policy. An Alteration of *Ministers* would be of little Service to the Publick. An Alteration of *Measures* is the Thing expected and required; and nothing can secure us so effectually against the *same Malversations* for the future, as the exemplary Punishment of *You*, who have brought such irreparable Mischiefs on your Country.

Don't flatter your self, Sir, that this is a rash, unadvis'd Measure, taken on a sudden, in a Fit of *personal Resentment*. No, it proceeds from nobler Motives, and is the Result of Hearts warm with a Zeal for the publick Service. It is taken with a Design to prevent all clandestine Negotiations, or secret Bargains, which may be attempted by your self, or any other Person whatever, for your Retreat and Security.— Consider now the desperate Situation, into which you have brought your self. The *Generals*, who openly oppose you, are determined to put you upon your Trial for all the fatal Blunders, and Iniquities of a long Administration. Those, who are obliged unwillingly to support you, wait with
Im-

Impatience for an Opportunity of giving you up, which they have already discovered an Eagerness of doing, as soon as they shall see that Protection withdrawn, which you receive at present from the Influence of Power and Corruption.

You say, Sir, " That the Gentleman, whom I defend, laid down his Employment in the *War Office* for the Sake of this very *Minister* (meaning your self) whom he then supposed would soon, from publick Necessity, come into Power again, and be able to give him a better Place."

If this is true, where is your Gratitude to *this Gentleman*, who laid down so considerable an Employment for your Sake? and may it not be said that the Weight of his great Estate, to say no more, gave some Strength to your Opposition, and contributed to your present Elevation? But we are willing to absolve you from this Obligation; for he no more laid down his Employment for your Sake, than you raised him. He laid it down, because he could not concur with the Measures then carrying on, as he lost another Employment since, because he could not concur with *your Measures*—— But pray, Sir, how came you to blab out that foolish Confession, that you design'd to push your self into the Administration again by *publick Necessity*, or the *Exigence of State*? God knows you made your Words too good. The publick Calamity of the *Southsea Scheme* opened a Door to your Advancement. You seized the Opportunity with eager Atms, and *Fortune* improved it for you, by the Death of several *great Men*, who dropt off, at that Time, one after another, just as your own Heart could wish—— I must, in this Place, put you in Mind of one Circumstance of that Conjunction, (happy for you, but fatal to *your Country*!) which ought never to be forgot; I mean, the infamous BANK-CONTRACT, drawn up by your own Hand, and cancell'd by your *own vile Arts*, to the Ruin of Thousands; a Circumstance, so void of all Honesty, that even none of your most abandoned *Mercenaries* have attempted to defend it, amongst all their various Apologies for your Blunders and Vindications of your Iniquities.

I must

I must now do another Thing very disagreeable to the *Gentleman* I am vindicating, but absolutely necessary under this Attack; that is, open a Scene of private Conversation. I am sorry you should drive us to this Extremity; but your own Doctrine must be our Excuse; that *neither Decency nor Modesty* (nor even the Fear of giving Offence to any Person whatsoever) *forbids the just Defence of a Character under Accusation.*

You say, "That this *Gentleman* expected and insisted on having a *great Employment*; that being disappointed in this Expectation, his *Patriotism* took his Rise from hence; and, in another Place you say, that he resolved to compel you to make him SECRETARY OF STATE."

This is a direct Falshood——If the *Gentleman expected and insisted on having the Seals*, he must have declared his Expectations to somebody, and have peremptorily insisted on it somewhere, or other. If he was refus'd (as you alledge) he must have been refused by somebody. Now, you are desy'd to name any one Person, to whom he ever mention'd this Matter. I have heard him positively declare, upon his Honour, that he never once spoke to the *late King*, to the *present King*, or to any *Minister* whatsoever on this Affair. He positively declares farther, that *no Minister* ever spoke to him of it, but *your self*, and then in a very cursory Manner. It seems, you came up to him, one Day, in the *House of Commons*, and told him, that when either of the *Secretaries* were removed, the *Ministers* had their Eyes upon him for that Employment. To this he made you no Answer whatever; but bow'd and smil'd, to let you know he understood your Meaning; for this happened just at the Time, when Application was to be made to Parliament for Payment of the Debts of the *Civil List*, which you was apprehensive this *Gentleman* would oppose; and it may be reasonably presumed that you gave him this gracious Hint with a Design to soften him in that Particular. You might suppose that such a Temptation could not fail of Prevalency in this Age; but you found your self mistaken. Here is a manifest Proof that the *Gentleman* had no Ambition to be *Secretary of State*; for he

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would

would not comply with the Condition, on which you seemed to offer it. He stuck to his Point, in opposing the *civil List Debt*, and for that Cause, and That alone, was turn'd out of his Employment of *Cofferer*.

There is one Circumstance in this Affair, which hath never yet been explain'd to the World; and upon which the Enemies of *this Gentleman* have triumphed extremely; as if he was naturally of an unsteady Temper; or that they had at length found out Means to gain him over; for after the Opposition he had given to this Affair in every Step of it, he voted in the last Instance, for the Question. The Truth of that Affair is this. The *late King* had of himself, or as He was advised by his *Ministers*, frequently try'd the *Gentleman* on this Point, and hoped to persuade him to be for it. He used all the Arguments he could; urged to him all the Motives he thought could possibly engage him; but all to no Purpose. He continued inflexible. At length, the *King* said to him, "It is hard you will not let me be an honest Man. What would you, continued his Majesty, think your self of one, who refused to pay his Butcher, his Baker, and other honest Tradesmen?" — To this the *Gentleman* reply'd, not a little affected with his Majesty's last Argument, God forbid that he should prevent his Majesty from acting such an honest Part. It was not his Intention. What he meant to do was consistent with his Duty as a Servant to his Majesty, and agreeable with his Duty as a Representative of the People. He meant only to expose that unnecessary Profusion, which had been made of *Secret-service Money*, *Pensions*, &c. that the Money, which should have paid his honest Tradesmen, was by these means diverted. His View therefore was to get a Censure of such Practices, and to prevent their becoming Precedents; nor had he any Design of depriving the *honest Creditors* of their just Debts; and this was the Reason, when it came to the last Instance, why *this Gentleman* voted for the Question, which his Majesty understood very well to be agreeable to the Promise he had made, however mysterious it might appear to others, and which the *Gentleman* was fully persuaded to be just in itself, and

and consistent with his Duty, as a *Servant to the Crown*.

Since we are now upon the Head of *secret History* which you have open'd, I must explain another Point, in this Gentleman's Defence, concerning the Reconciliation between his *present M——y* and the *late K——*; from whence it will appear whether *you*, or *this Gentleman*, was most greedy of Employments, and who discover'd the truest Zeal for the Honour of his *present M——y*. I shall only promise, that in all Points of a *secret Nature*, where no other Proof can be had but the Honour of the Persons asserting on the one Side and on the other, the World hath nothing else to decide upon but their *Characters*, and I think it pretty clear between you two, who will be the soonest believed.

This then, I am told, he avers upon his *Honour*, that you sent to him one Day, as he was going out of Town, desiring to speak with him; that when he came you told him of the Reconciliation between the *late K——* and the then *P—— of W——*, and that a Bargain was made for those *Whigs* who had resigned their Employments to be put in again by Degrees. To this the *Gentleman* reply'd; "Who pray *is it*, that hath the Authority to make this Bargain?" *Your Answer was*, I have done it with the *Ministry*, and it was insisted on that nobody but Lord *Townshend* should know of the Transaction. Neither Lord *Cowper*, the *Speaker*, nor any one else knew it, and therefore we hope you will not take it amiss, that it was kept Secret from you——

"Not I, *said the Gentleman*; but I think it very odd that any one should presume to take a plenary Authority upon himself to deal for such Numbers as were concerned in an Affair of this Consequence——We have not, *said you again*, had our own Interests alone in View. We have bargained for all our Friends; and in due Time they will be provided for. I am to be, *said you*, at the Head of the Treasury. Lord *Sunderland* had a great Desire to retain the Disposition of the *Secret-Service-Money* to himself; but I would by no means consent to that; knowing that the chief Power of a Minister (and I presume his Profit on-

" 19) depends on the Disposition of it." You named
 several others, who were to come into Employments;
 and said to this *Gentleman*, " We know, Sir, that
 " you do not value any thing of that Kind; so we
 " have obtained a *Peerage* for you." — It seems
 you did not, at that Time, pretend that the *Gentle-*
man either expected, or insisted on any Employment;
 and therefore told him that the King had consented
 to make him a *Peer*. To this the *Gentleman* reply'd
 with some warmth; " Sir, if ever I should be mean
 " enough to submit to being sold, I promise you
 " that you shall never have the selling of Me. A
 " *Peerage* is what, some Time or other, I may be
 " glad of accepting, for the Sake of my Family; but
 " I will never obtain it by any base Method, or sub-
 " mit to have it got for me upon such Terms by you.
 " But pray, Sir, (*continued the Gentleman*) since you
 " have acquainted me with the Terms you have made
 " for Me; what are those you have made for the P —,
 " who hath acted so honourable and steady a Part to
 " those, with whom he engaged, and who are now
 " in Opposition to the Court? — To this you an-
 " swered, with a *Sneer*, why he is to go to Court
 " again, and He will have his *Drums* and his *Guard*,
 " and such *Fine Things*." — At this the *Gentle-*
man was astonished, and thought proper to press you
 a little farther, by asking you, " Whether the P —
 " was to be left Regent again, as he had been, when
 " the King went out of *England*. — No, said you,
 " why should he? — What! reply'd the *Gentle-*
man, have you stipulated for a Share of Royalty
 " for yourself, on the King's Departure, and is the
 " P — to live like a private Subject, or no
 " Consequence in the Kingdom?" — The *Gentle-*
man avers, upon his Honour, that your Answer
 was this, " He does not deserve it. We have
 " done too much for him; and if it was to be done
 " again, We would not do so much." — Upon
 this the *Gentleman* went directly to the P —
 (with whom he then had some Credit) and humbly
 represented upon what Terms the Reconciliation
 was founded. He told him that he was sold to his
 Father's Ministers by Persons, who considered no-
 thing but themselves and their own Interest, and
 were

were in haste to make their Fortunes. This was thought by him to have had some Weight, at that Time, with the P——, though the Gentleman did not think it proper to tell him the whole that had pass'd, and relate what you had said of him in so ungrateful a Manner.

This is the Man (behold him well!) who reproaches others with want of Duty to the King and Decency to the Royal Family; this base Wretch, who is now deceiving and flattering that very Person, whom he us'd so ill, to serve his own selfish Ends; for I believe I may affirm that, besides the View of obtaining other Employments, the Promise of a *Noli Prosequi* upon a Grant of a Place in the *Custom-House*, which was apprehended to be illegal, was one of the chief Motives to *this Reconciliation*.

You charged this Gentleman farther with following the Court again, when the *late King* dyed, and worshipping the *RISING SUN*—— Every Body, Sir, followed the *Rising Sun*, at that Time, as well as this Gentleman, and would have been extremely pleas'd to see him shine in *Meridian Glory*. Men, of all Parties, made a Tender of their Affections and Services on that Occasion; which had no good Aspect, indeed, upon your Affairs, and therefore you have spared no Pains to divide them again. But you would insinuate by this, that he was making his Court to get an Employment; the contrary of which is so true, that *this great Person* himself well knows that, at the first Audience the Gentleman had of him, he assured him that he did not come to ask for any Employment, nor should ever trouble him upon that Score; and believed his Majesty had met with but few, who gave him the like Instances of Zeal and Affection.

I shall not pretend to justify the Increase of the *civil List* at that Time. Such Instances of Complaisance to the Crown are too common at the Beginning of a Reign; but as this Gentleman had no share in projecting it, so his opposing it would have had no other Effect than giving you an Opportunity of charging him with want of *Duty* and *Affection* to his Majesty, as soon as the Crown devolved to him.

I do not think my self or *this Gentleman*, oblig'd to justify the *Craftsman*. He writes a weekly Paper, in which no doubt many Hands are concerned. *You, Sir*, are much more answerable for all the atheistical Stuff, and vile political Maxims, advanced in the *London Journal*, which every Body knows to be propagated, by your Authority, at the publick Expence. Neither can I see how the *Craftsman* hath vindicated the Measures, or Ministers of the last four Years of Queen *Anne*, by publishing a Letter (which was manifestly sent him) in Confusion of some Facts, falsely charg'd upon *two Gentlemen*, who have long been most infamously abused on his Account; but since you have thought fit to mention the late Earl of *Oxford*, I am ready to agree with you that his Character had many good Qualities in it, which you want. He was certainly an *able Minister*; and notwithstanding the Violence of those Times, Experience proves him to have been an *honest Treasurer*. *He went out of that Office not only with clean, but almost empty Hands.*

It always seems to give you great Uneasiness that *this Gentleman* is happy in the Applauses of his Country. Why really, *Sir*, the Publick are pleas'd to entertain a pretty good Opinion of him; but I never heard him charged with stooping to any unworthy Methods of courting their Applauses; and, perhaps, that Degree of *Popularity*, which he does enjoy amongst his Countrymen, may proceed in some Measure from his constant Opposition to *You*, who are justly grown so very *unpopular* amongst them. In answer to this, you quote an Observation of the *Craftsman*, "That many Persons in all Ages, have enjoyed the highest Degree of popular Favour for some time, who least deserve it." This is certainly true in general; and therefore we must leave this Question (*who deserves the popular Favour most; you or this Gentleman*) to be determined by your Actions and the Judgment of the Publick.

You tell us, by Way of Conclusion, *that you scorn to enter into private Life, secret History, or private Correspondencies; and that you abhor to copy from their ever-memorable Proper Reply.*

Could any one imagine to find this Sentence at the Conclusion of a *scurrilous Pamphlet*, filled with nothing

thing but most infamous Falshoods and vile Misrepresentations, *Family Affairs, personal Secrets and private Correspondencies*? Have you not entered into the minutest Parts of *this Gentleman's domestick Affairs*? Have you not pretended to give an Account of his *Family Estate*; how he came by it, and in what Manner it was acquired? Have you not reproached him with his *sparing, scraping Nature*; his *vindictive Temper*; his *Spight and Ambition*; and after all this, is it not monstrously ridiculous to say that you *scorn to enter into Family Affairs, personal Secrets, or private Correspondencies*? — Would not any Body be inclin'd to think you either a *Fool* or a *Madman*? But you thought, perhaps, that this might guard you against the like Usage, by alledging that you scorn to enter into Family Affairs. Poor, weak Man! You are safe, not from this Artifice, but from the Honour of your Antagonist. If you have any Family Misfortunes, they are by your worst Enemies lamented, not objected against you. — Far be it from me to revile you on this Account. — But since you mention the *ever-memorable Proper Reply*, let us see how that Affair stands, and whether the *Gentleman*, whom I defend, is really blameable on that Account.

An *infamous Pamphlet*, much like that before us, came out; which the *true Author* was both ashamed and afraid to own; though all Mankind seems now to be convinc'd that it was yours. In *this Libel* great Pains were taken to make two of the worst Characters, that ever were drawn, applicable to *two Gentlemen*, who happen not to be in your good Graces. When it was publish'd, the whole World expressed their Indignation against it; and *You*, to conceal your self, encouraged a Report about Town that it was written by a certain noble Lord, which almost every Body believed. A *Reply* came out, which had it contained less Spirit, would not have deserv'd the Title of a *Proper Reply*; and two Characters were drawn in it, of your self and your Brother, which struck every Body with the Likeness. The Consequence of this was that the *Person*, who was answered, as the suppos'd *Author*, was much offended, and apprehended himself to be much wrong'd. What Mischief might have ensued would have lain

entirely at your Door, who gave Occasion to have *another Gentleman* supposed the Author of it, and rejoiced in the Consequences of an Affair, which you had been hatching.

You wind up the whole, according to your Custom, with a most nauseous Strain of Adulation to the Throne, at the Expence of *another Gentleman*, who is very well able to justify himself; and therefore I leave that Part to him, or to some of his Friends.

As to his *Majesty*, though I shall always scorn to bedaub the Royal Character with such mean Flattery, as glares through your Performances; yet I shall never be wanting in my Declaration of Zeal for the Happiness of his Government, and the Prosperity of his Family. May the *British Crown* never depart from them; and to secure it on their Heads, may Liberty always flourish under their Influence and Protection! May his present Majesty's Reign be long and glorious; even much more glorious than it hath hitherto been! And to give the fullest Testimony of my Zeal, and the Sincerity of my Intentions, may he be delivered in good Time, from your Administration!



*A Final ANSWER to the REMARKS
on the CRAFTSMAN'S Vindication;
and to all the LIBELS, which have
come, or may come from the same
Quarter against the PERSON, last
mentioned in the CRAFTSMAN of
the 22d of May.*

IT is impossible to have read the Papers which have been publish'd against the Writings of the *Craftsman*, and not have observed that one principal Point hath been labour'd with constant Application, and sometimes with a little Art. The Point I mean hath been this; to make all the Disputes about national Affairs, and our most important Interests, to pass for nothing more than *Cavils*, which have been rais'd by the Pique and Resentment of *one Man*, and by the Iniquity and dangerous Designs of *another*. Nothing, which could be said or done to inculcate this Belief, hath been neglected. The same Charges have been repeated almost every Week, and the Publick hath been modestly desired to pay no Regard to undeniable Facts, to unanswer'd and unanswerable Arguments, because these Facts and these Arguments were supposed, by the *Ministerial Writers*, to come from Men, to whom *these Hirelings* ascribed, against all Probability, the worst Motives, and whole Characters they endeavour to blacken without Proof. Surely this Proceeding render'd it necessary, at least not improper, at the Conclusion of those Remarks, which were to conclude the Collection of the *Craftsman*, to say something concerning the *Persons* who had been so particularly attacked on Account of the Part, which they, who rail'd at them, were pleas'd to suppose that *these Gentlemen* had in the Writings contain'd in that Collection. This,

I say,

I say, was necessary; at least proper; not in order to raise a Spirit, as it is impertinently suggested in the *Libel*, which lies before me; but to refute *Calumny*, and to remove at least some of those Prejudices which had been raised or renewed on the Occasion of *these Writings*, and which were employed to weaken the Effect of them; an Effect, which may be said with Truth to have been aim'd at the * *noble Pair of Brothers*, since it keeps up a national Spirit of Enquiry and Watchfulness, which it is the Interest of *these Persons*, as it hath been their Endeavour to stifle; and which it is the Interest of every other *Man in Britain* to preserve in himself, and to nourish in others; an Effect, which cannot be said, without the greatest Untruth, to have been aimed against the *present Settlement*; since the highest Insolence which can be offered to his Majesty, is to attempt to blend his Interest and his Cause, with those of his *unworthy Servants*, as the Tools of these *unworthy Servants* are every Day employ'd to do, and probably at his Majesty's Expence.

Something was said therefore by the *Craftsman*, in his Journal of the 22d of *May*, to the Purpose I have mentioned. If he went out of his Way, (for he ought most certainly to confine himself to *Things*, and meddle with *Persons* as little as possible) he went out of it on great Provocation. He carry'd Truth and Reason along with him; and he used a Moderation and a Decency, to which his *Adversaries* are Strangers.

To set this Matter in a full light, let us consider what he said; let us consider how he hath been answered; and, by fairly comparing both, let us put the whole Merits of this Cause upon one short but decisive Issue. It will be Time afterwards to make a few Observations on the Clamour rais'd; on the Reasons and Design of it; in a Word, to detect the mean Artifice and silly Expedients to which the *two honourable Patrons of the Remarker* are reduced. In doing this, I shall neither affect to declaim, nor to inveigh, though I have before me an inexhaustible Fund of Matter for both, and the Law of Retaliation to bear me out. As I am persuaded

* *Par nobile Fratrum*. See the Motto prefix'd to the Remarks.

the Men I have to do with, can raise no Passion in the Person concerned, so have I no need of endeavouring to raise the Passions of others.——But to proceed.

The *Craftsman* took notice of those Accusations, which are brought against the Gentleman he mentions in the *second Place*.——I meddle not with the Defence of the *other*, which hath been undertaken by an abler Pen.——Some of these he answered in general only; and yet he answered them as particularly as he ought to have done for Reasons of Honour, which are touch'd upon by him, and which shall be a little more open'd by me.

But there were other Points, not at all affected by these Reasons, on which no Explanation was necessary to be given by the *Accused*, and on which the *Craftsman* had a Right to demand Proof from the *Accusers*. They were Points of a more determined Nature; such as admitted of no different Constructions; such as could not be altered by Circumstances. They were of a more publick Nature; such as the Men, who brought the Accusations, must have it in their Power to prove, if they were true; and such therefore as must be false, if the Men who brought the Accusations, were not able and ready to prove them.

On these the *Craftsman* insisted. He affirmed Propositions directly contrary to the Accusations brought. He appealed to unquestionable Authority for the Truth of what he affirmed; and to *one* in particular, which should have been treated with more Respect by the *Remarker*, since it will outweigh, at Home and Abroad, a Thousand such Authorities as those of *his Patrons*. He challenged all Mankind to produce one single Proof in Contradiction of any one of these general Affirmations.

Was there any thing unfair or undecent in this Proceeding? was there any thing in it, which could provoke the Choler of those who are Friends to Truth and Justice? If they who brought these Accusations, had been such, an Opportunity was presented to them of convicting the guilty Man at the very Tribunal, before which his Cause had been pleaded. By producing Proof on these Heads, they had it in their Power to condemn him upon all the rest; and if this Part of the Charge was made good, the

the Opinion of Mankind would have been fairly enough decided as to the other.

Issue being join'd therefore in this Manner, the *accused Person* must be found guilty of all the Crimes laid to his Charge; or his *Accusers* must be found guilty of Slander, of Calumny, and of the worst sort of Assassination.

Thus the *Craftsman* left the Matter——let us see what hath been said in answer to him.

I pass over the many scurrilous Productions of those weekly, *Ministerial Scolds*, who are hired to call Names, and are capable of little more. The elaborate Libel, entitled, *Remarks on the Craftsman's Vindication*, seems to be the utmost Effort of *their* and *their Patron's* collected Strength; and tho' I have waited several Days, to see if they had any more Scandal to throw out; yet I never doubted an Instant from what Quarter this remarkable Piece came into the World.

The whole Pamphlet is one continued Invektive, and deserves no more to be called *Remarks on the Craftsman*, or an *Answer to him*, than the Railing and Raving, and throwing of Filth by a *Mad man* deserve to be call'd an *Answer* to those who unwarily pass too near his Cell. All that *Malice* could ever invent, or the Credulity of *Parties*, inflamed by Opposition, receive, is assembled. Truth is disguised by Misrepresentation, and even many Things, which the *noble Pair* know to be false, are affirmed as true.

But you will ask, perhaps, whether the Challenge is not accepted, and whether Proofs are not brought to contradict the plain and positive Affirmation made by the *Craftsman*? I answer, the Challenge is accepted, and the *Remarker* assures us that he hath brought Proof in *numerous Instances* against these Affirmations; which is the more generous, because the *Craftsman* exacted but one single Proof in Contradiction of any one of them.

The first of these Affirmations was, that the Gentleman concerned never entered into *Engagements*, or any Commerce with the Pretender, till he had been attainted and cut off from the Body of his Majesty's Subjects——Let us examine the Facts, which we find

find scatter'd up and down in the *Remarks*, and which may be apply'd to prove, in Opposition to this Affirmation, what hath been so often asserted, that *this Gentleman was a zealous Jacobite, and an Agent of the Pretender, even in the Reign of the late Queen.* The first Fact of this Kind is this. *He left the Kingdom. His high Treason, among other Crimes, was confessed by his shameful Flight.*

Had the *Libeller* proved this *high Treason*, I might agree that the Gentleman's leaving his Country was a Consequence; but I can never admit that it is a Proof of his Guilt. Could no other Reason for leaving his Country be given, except his Guilt, his leaving his Country would be a strong Presumption against him. But many other Reasons will soon occur to those, who remember the Passages of that Time; and Reasons there are of a more private Nature still, which would be very far, to say no more, from reflecting Dishonour on a Step, which is called, by *these foul-mouth'd Advocates of Power, shameful and ignominious.* One Thing it may be proper to assure them of, that they may not pretend to mistake the *Crafsman*, and to misapply his Words no more. It is this. The *Gentleman* never declined a Contest with the *two honourable Patrons of this Libel.* One of them was, in those Days, below his Notice; and he never found, upon Trial, that he had Reason to apprehend being foiled by the other. But we must not yet dismiss this Article.

If the Proof we are examining proved any thing, it would prove too much. If to decline, in certain Circumstances, a Trial; if to go into voluntary Exile, either before a Trial, or even after Condemnation, were absolute Proof of Guilt, the conduct of many greater and better Men than the *Person now accused* would deserve our Censure, and that of Calumniators, as vile as *these Libellers*, would merit our Approbation. *Metellus* and *Rutilius* must be condemned. *Apuleius* and *Apicius* must be justified.

This sort of Proof therefore not appearing sufficient to make good the Charge, that *this Gentleman* was engaged with the *Pretender* before his *Attainder*, great Pains are taken, and much Rhetorick is employed to shew what we shall not presume to
con-

contradict, that he ought not to have engaged in that Cause after his *Attainder*. Neither did the *Craftsman* insist on this Circumstance as a Defence of the *Person accused*. He fixed this Date of the Engagement mentioned, in Contradiction to those who had falsely affirmed that these Engagements were much more ancient. But he neither urged it as a *Defence*, nor pleaded it as an *Excuse*; and yet I am persuaded that this very Circumstance had some Weight with his late *Majesty*, when that excellent Prince, the Mildness of whose Temper, and the Clemency of whose Nature, would have render'd him amiable in the most private Station, and made him almost adorable in that great Elevation, to which the Providence of God had rais'd him; when that excellent Prince, I say, was pleas'd on his own Motion, and without any Application from the *Person* here-spoken of, to extend his present, and promise his future Favour to him.

Tho' the *Craftsman* did neither say, nor intend, what has been objected by the *Remarker* to him, yet he might perhaps mean something more than hath been observ'd; and if he did mean it, he meant to inculcate, upon the Occasion, a very useful, general Truth. Let us grant that the Man, who engages against his Country, even when he has been oppress'd in it, or driven out of it by Violence, is not to be defend'd; that these are Occasions, wherein we ought to kiss the Rod which scourges us, and reverence that Authority we think has been unjustly exercised against us. But then let it be granted likewise, that *human Passions* are so strong, and *human Reason* so weak, that Men who suffer Persecution, or who imagine they suffer it, are seldom able to keep within these Bounds of *heroical Moderation*. They will be apt to seize Opportunities which may be offer'd, of resisting, or of attempting to repair the Injuries done them. They will flatter themselves, that they do not *vow their revenge against the People, the innocent and collective Body of their Countrymen*, nor go about to subvert the *Constitution of the Government*. They will persuade others, nay, they will persuade themselves, that they do not seek *Revenge*, but *Redress*; nor aim to destroy the
Law,

Law, which punishes, but to prevent the *Abuse* of it, which persecutes. Thus will Men, who actually suffer, be apt to reason; and if the Case be common to Numbers, they will be apt to proceed from reasoning on such Principles, to act upon them. Wise Governments therefore have been careful to distinguish between *Punishment* and *Persecution*, and have never suffered the former, however just, necessary, or severe, to carry the least Appearance of the latter. *Ludlow* was justly punished. My Lord *Clarendon*, whom the *Remarker* hath so strangely yoked with the *Regicide*, was unjustly, ungratefully and cruelly persecuted. We may pronounce, without Uncharitableness, that the former would have taken any Opportunity of subverting a second Time the Constitution of his Country; not from *Resentment* alone, but from *Principle*. The latter would have been moved by no Resentments to disturb the Frame of Government, which he had contributed so much to restore. The former Example therefore hath nothing to do in this Place; and if I admit the latter, it will only serve to shew us how Men should act, not how they do act. It will be one Example of *Virtue*, opposed to innumerable Instances of *Frailty*. Innumerable indeed are the Instances of Men in all Ages, who having been driven out of their Country by Violence, have endeavoured, even by Violence, to return to it. This is the general and known Course of Nature; *depraved* indeed, but *human*; and since it is so; if we allow that they who disturb a Government, because they think themselves persecuted, deserve no Excuse, we must allow that those, who give Occasion to this Disturbance by Persecution, deserve very little.

I hope I may deserve some for this Digression, into which the *Remarker* led me; and I return to my Subject, by saying, that neither the *Craftsman* hath pretended, nor do I here pretend, to excuse the Engagements, which *this Gentleman* took, after his Attainder, and which his *late Majesty* so graciously pardoned! but that his taking these Engagements, after his Attainder, is no Proof that he was under them before; and that his going out of the Kingdom in the late King's Reign, is no Proof that he was a *zealous*
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Jacobite, and an Agent of the Pretender in the late Queen's Reign.

The *Libeller*, finding himself unable to make this Charge good, lessens the Charge, that he may suit his Proof to it. If he cannot prove that the *Gentleman* was in the Interests of the *Pretender*, before his Attainder, he will prove at least that he had a strong Propension to those Interests; and how does he prove even this? He asserts that in the Year 1702, this *Gentleman* was one of the *Virtuous* 117, who gave their Votes to throw out the Bill for settling the Protestant Succession, &c. False and impudent Assertion! A few Pages before he pretends to have the *Journal Book of the House of Commons* before him. Had he it before him now? If he had, how could he affirm in direct Contradiction to it? If he had not, how could he venture to affirm any thing concerning this Matter? The Bill for settling the Protestant Succession in the present Royal Family, passed the House of Commons in the Month of May 1701, not in 1702; and it passed *nemine contradicente*. In the Month of January following, Leave was given, *nemine contradicente*, to bring in a Bill for the farther Security of his Majesty's Person, and the Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line, and extinguishing the Hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales, and all other Pretenders, and their open and secret Abettors. This Bill was accordingly brought in, and the Persons who, by Order of the House, prepared and brought it in, were Sir Charles Hedges, and one Mr. St. JOHN. In the Progress of this Bill through the House, it appears that there were some Debates and Divisions about particular Clauses and Amendments; but the Bill was pass'd without any Division; so infamously false is the Assertion made by this *Libeller*, that there was no Division of 117, or of any other Number, for throwing out either the Bill which settled the Succession, or the Bill, which was made for the farther Security of it. There was a Division, indeed, of 117 against 118, and upon a Clause added by the Lords to a Bill, for enlarging the Time for taking the Oath of Abjuration, &c. and this happened in the Year 1702; but what Relation hath this Fact to the Fact asserted? Whether the *Gentleman* voted against this Clause, or not, I am unable

able to say; and it is to no Purpose to enquire; for the Clause regarded only such Persons as had neglected to take the Abjuration Oath in Time, and provided, that if such Persons had forfeited any Office, Benefice, &c. to which any other Person had been preferred, the former should not be restored by taking the Advantage of this Act. If this pretended Proof therefore is not another Instance of the vilest Calumination, I know not what is; and if this is vile Calumination, the *Libeller* himself confesses, that the *Craftsman's* Challenge was properly made; and that there is not one Proof in the World against his general Affirmations.

Another Fact, which is advanced, and most pathetically declaimed upon, for Reasons not hard to be discovered, is likewise applied to maintain the same Charge. "This Gentleman, says the *Libeller*, had the Impudence to oppose his present most sacred Majesty, when he demanded a Writ of Right— The Writ of Summons to Parliament. He afterwards caused the Elector of *Hanover's* Minister to be forbid the Court, for no other Crime than having demanded that Writ." And did *this Gentleman* oppose this Writ? Nay, did any other Servant of the late Queen oppose it? False and impudent is the Assertion. It was ordered to be made out the very Day * it was demanded. If the *Minister*, who demanded the Writ, was forbid the Court, was *this Gentleman* the Cause of it? Is every disagreeable Circumstance to be ascribed to him in an Affair, which was too important not to be laid, by the proper *Minister*, that is by the *Chancellor*, not the *Secretary*, before her late Majesty and her Council; and in which it may be supposed that her Majesty's Resentments, were alone sufficient to determine such a Resolution? Besides, if the *Minister* received the Affront mentioned, was he singly and abstractedly for demanding the Writ? or was it founded on the manner of demanding, and on many other Circumstances, some expressed and some hinted at in the *Letters*, writ soon afterwards by the late Queen to her

* Vide *Annals of the Reign of Queen Anne.*

late *Electoral Highness the Princess Sophia*, and to his present Majesty, which I ye before me in the printed *Annals of Queen Anne's Reign*? Was the Reception, given by his late Majesty, then *Electo*r, to the *Minister*, who made this Demand, at his return home, such a one as shewed his Majesty's Approbation of this Measure, and his Disapprobation of what had happened here upon it?——I say no more.

We have now gone thro' all I can find in this *Libel*, which seems so much as to aim at making good the first *Head of Accusation*, on which the *Craftsman* made his Challenge.

On the *second Head*, the *Craftsman* affirmed, " that the same Gentleman never had any Commerce either direct or indirect, inconsistent with the Engagements he took after his Attainder; whilst he continued in them." Now, this Affirmation, instead of being discovered, is evaded. It is foreign to me, says the *Remarker*——Is it so?——Have not all his scribbling Associates charged this Gentleman over and over for being treacherous to the *Pretender*; for being engaged with him; at the same time a *Spy* and a *Partisan*, (such is the Language they use,) of the late King? Is not the flat Contradiction given to this Lye a Part of the Challenge made by the *Craftsman*? Hath not this *Libeller* accepted the Challenge? Hath he not called it a *weak*, a *foolish* and a *slavish Defence*? May he evade it after all his boasting? Is he not bound to make it good in every Part, or to own the Charge of Calumny, which I make on him, on the whole scribbling Crew, and on those, who pay them? What he, or they will own, I neither know nor care. What the Publick will determine is evident.

On a *third Head of Accusation* against this Gentleman, the *Craftsman* affirmed, " that since he was out of the Engagements last mentioned, he hath had no Commerce, either direct or indirect, in favour of that Cause." Now, upon this Head, tho' the Accusation be not given up in Terms, yet is it as little maintained, or supported by Proof as the last. The *Libeller* indeed calls the Gentleman a *Leviathan of Treason*; displays the terrible Dangers

gers which would have attended the re-instituting him; presumes to call it a Libel on the late King's Memory to say that he had such Intentions; and yet dares not deny that his Majesty signified his having such Intentions. In short, with much Bombast, he makes the Panegyrick of his Patron, for defeating these Intentions. I shall not condescend to make one single Remark on this Rhapsody of Scurrility and Adulation. Such Poyson carries its Antidote along with it into the World; and no Man will be at a loss to judge whether publick or private Motives determin'd the Servant, in this Case, to defeat the Intentions of the *Master*. Which ever they were, he, who can believe that the *Gentleman* so often mentioned has upon him any of that Obligation, which the *Craftsman* disclaims for him, deserves to be pitied; and he who can bring himself up to affirm it, deserves to be despised. But before I leave this Article, it may not be improper, nor unseasonable to enquire, by what Criterion *good Subjects to his Majesty, and faithful Friends to the present Establishment* are to be distinguished and known. Are all those to be reputed such, who assumed the greatest Zeal for the *Protestant Succession* formerly?— This cannot be; for many of the *Tories* have this Title; and all, whoever wore that Name, are proscribed by the *System* we have seen advanced— Are all these to be reputed such, who were alike zealous for the *Protestant Succession*, and who have besides made constant Profession of the Principles of *Whiggism*?— This cannot be neither; since many such as these are daily stigmatized with the reproachful Names of *Malecontents* and *Incendiaries*; and since Endeavours are used, by false Deductions, and by arbitrary Interpretations, to prove them Enemies to the Government, and in Effect *arrant Traitors*.— What is this Criterion then? I am able to discover but one, and it is this; being for, or being against the noble Pair of Brothers, the two honourable Patrons of the Remarker. Without the Merit of approving their Conduct, no Man is to be reputed a *faithful Subject*, or a Friend to his Country. With this Merit, and with that of a blind Submission, even they, who have been the most obnoxious

may be received, and they, who have been called Enemies to the Government, as loudly as any others, may be inrolled among its Friends. This Practice of endeavouring to confine the Interest of the Government to as narrow a Bottom as that of *two Ministers*, has been of late most audaciously pursued. It has been said in direct Terms * " That if his said late Majesty had put the Administration into any other Hands, he would have been unjust to those brave Men, who had done and suffered so much to serve him ; and that he would not have deserved to wear the Crown, if he had not employed the Men, whom he did employ." — Here, again, there might be room for some particular Reflections, if I was disposed to make them. But I avoid this invidious Part as much as my Subject will allow me to do ; and shall therefore content my self with desiring these bold Writers, their Inspectors, and Patrons, to consider what the necessary Consequences of such Positions are. If they dare to assert that his *late Majesty* would have been unjust ; that he would not have deserved to wear the Crown, if he had not employed the Men he did employ ; what might they not assert, if his *present Majesty* should, at any Time, think fit, in his great Wisdom and Goodness to his People, to remove some of those very Men, whom his Royal Father did employ ? The Assertion is not even extended to Party. It would have been still indecent if it had. But it is confined to a certain Number of particular Men ; as if the Zeal for the *Protestant Succession* in the present Royal Family had not been directed, as it most certainly was, to the national Advantage, but had been intended, as to be sure it was not, for the Advantage of particular Men, and to perpetuate the Administration in a private Family. This is such Language, as I believe was never held before, and as no Man would presume to hold now, if the Encouragement to it did not proceed from those, by whom it should be discountenanced and punished.

There is another Fact, which I must not omit to take Notice of in this Place ; because though it is

* London Journal, May 15.

not one of those, on which the *Craftsman* made his Challenge, yet it hath been positively asserted by him, and half of it at least as positively denied by the *Remarker*.

The *Craftsman* said, " that the Mercy of the late King was extended to the Gentleman, we speak of, unask'd and unearn'd." That it was unearn'd, the *Remarker* thinks probable; and in thinking so he gives the Lye to all his Fellow-Scribblers, who have so often affirmed the contrary. That it was unask'd, he says, is a downright Falshood. He hath the *Journal-Book of the House of Commons* before him; and there he finds, " that the House was acquainted, by his late Majesty's Command, in April 1725, that *this Gentleman* had, about seven Years before, made his humble Application and Submission, &c. which his Majesty so far accepted, as to give Encouragement to hope for some future Mark of his Majesty's Favour and Goodness."

— In this he exults; but here again the Effrontery and Falshood, which he charges on others, will recoil on himself. Who drew this ministerial Message I know not; nor how far the Style of it may be necessary, according to Forms usual on such Occasions; but the *Remarker* might have known, if he had consulted even his Patrons, that his Majesty's Mercy had been extended to *this Gentleman* two Years before the seven there mentioned; and that this Mercy did not consist in Encouragement to hope for some future Mark of his Majesty's Favour and Goodness, but in a gracious and absolute Promise of his Favour in the full Extent, which the Circumstances of that Gentleman required. I may be the more bold in affirming this Fact, because the noble Lord, who delivered the Message I quote, is still alive, as some other Persons are, to whom his late Majesty was pleas'd to own, that this Message had been delivered by his Order, and to express his gracious Intentions conformable to it—— But to proceed.

It appears most undeniably, that of the three Heads, on which the *Craftsman* gave, and the *Remarker* accepted, the Challenge, the *Remarker* hath shewn himself unable to prove the first by any true Facts, and hath scandalously attempted to do it by false

ones ; that he hath given up the *second* ; and that he hath not so much as attempted to prove the *third*.

Let me ask now, shall Men, thus plainly convicted of Calumny on Accusations brought so often and charged so peremptorily by them expect Belief, when they endeavour to defame in any other Case ? Shall they, who are convicted of accusing falsely in Cases, which are plain in their Nature, where no Proof can be wanting, and where no Pretence can be alledged for not producing it, expect that the Publick should condemn any Man, and especially a Man, who is under so many Circumstances of Disadvantage, peculiar to his singular and unexampled Situation, because they affirm him guilty in Cases, which are intricate in their Nature, and where Reasons of Honour, of Prudence, and of Decency may all concur to impose Silence ? How often have the *noble Pair* defended themselves, and been defended by others, on this Principle ; that no Man ought to charge another, unless he is able and ready to prove the Charge ? How often have they call'd for Proof on this Principle, and triumph'd that it was not immediately brought ? Now, although this Defence may not be sufficient in every Case, where Matters of *present Transaction* are concern'd, and where the *Persons attacked* are in actual Possession of the greatest Power ; yet surely it may be thought, with Reason, to be a sufficient Defence, when Matters long ago transacted, and long ago censured too, are concern'd ; when the *Persons*, who attack, are in actual Possession of the greatest Power ; and the *Person*, who is attacked, hath none of those offensive, or defensive Weapons at his Command, which Power furnishes in so abundant a Manner.

The *Remarker* thinks that no *Reasons of Honour, Prudence, or Decency* ought to shut the Mouth of Innocence ; that *Shame and Guilt alone* are silent in the *Day of Enquiry*—— When this *Day of Enquiry* is to come, and who is to be the Subject of it, I know not ; but let him learn that there are many Cases, wherein it is not honest, and many others may occur wherein it is not prudent, to say all that might be said either in Defence, or in Excuse ; that is, when the Defence or Excuse of our selves must affect
others,

others, not concern'd in the Debate. In such Cases, the most innocent will rather bear the Imputation of imaginary Crimes, by keeping Silence, than be guilty of a real Crime, by breaking it; and to carry this as far as it can be carry'd, Instances might be produc'd of Men, who have dyed, rather than accuse others, whose Blood was thirsted after more than theirs.

Much hath been said, and great Complaints have been made, of the *Torture*, as it is called in *this Libel*, given to *another Gentleman's* Actions. If, by this, be meant ransacking into all the private and publick Passages of his Life, and wresting every one into a Crime; far be it from me to approve, in his Case, what I abhor *this Libeller* for doing in the Case of another. But is it really so? Have we seen Accusations of *Treachery* and *Ingratitude* towards several, who are dead, and towards any who are living insisted upon, in the former Case? Has it been reproached to the *Patrons of the Remarker*, that they worm'd out of Power a Person, to whom they were nearly allied, and ought to have been firmly attached by Gratitude and Friendship? and yet is that a Subject, which affords nothing to be said? Are there no Circumstances, which might be aggravated at least? Are there no strong Colours, which might be laid? Even I should not be at a Loss to do it, if I thought it fair to do it; if I thought it honest to push any Man to Silence, of which I might take a seeming Advantage, or to a Necessity of justifying or excusing himself by saying what, supposing him innocent, he ought not to say. Are there no Facts relating to the former Transactions of great Importance not commonly known, and yet not absolutely Secrets, which remain still unmentioned? — In short, is it not apparent that there are Men, who accuse, indeed, when the immediate Subject of Debate leads, or provokes them necessarily and unwillingly to it, whilst there are others, who wait for no such Necessity, but accuse meerly to defame.

It would be tedious, not difficult, to go thro' this whole Investive; to deny with Truth many Things, which are falsely affirmed; and, by giving a just Turn to others, to set them in a very different Light

from that wherein the *Author* exposes them to public View ; to explain what he perplexes ; to distinguish what he confounds. But I shall not take this Task upon me, for the Reasons I have given, and for others, which I am going to give.

As to the Conduct, which the *Person*, against whom such Torrents of Ribaldry are poured forth, held towards those who were at the Head of Affairs, whilst he was in Business, I shall only add to what hath been said already, what no Man of Candour will deny ; that the Heat and Animosity, which perpetual Contests and frequent Turns of Party raise, have carried many (perhaps, the Person who is blam'd, perhaps the Persons who blame him) to do, what in any other Situation, or Temper of Mind, They would carefully avoid ; in a Word, that the just Man hath been, on such Occasions, sometimes unjust ; the good natur'd Man ill-natur'd ; and the friendly Man unfriendly. Few there are, I fear, who could with a safe Conscience take up the first Stone upon such a Trial. Few there are, who are blameless. But here is the Difference. The just, the good-natur'd, the friendly Man returns to the Character, out of which he started. The unjust, the ill-natur'd, the unfriendly Man persists. The first reflects with Sorrow on what the last reflects with Triumph ; and whilst one wishes undone what the Heat of *Party* carried him to do, the other is glad of the Excuse of *Party*, such as it is, to indulge the Viciousness of his own Nature, and to repeat unjust, ill-natur'd and unfriendly Actions to the *living*, and even to the *dead*.

There is an Example before us, which may serve to illustrate what I have said. — Great Advantage is taken of a *Memorial* sent to the late Queen, by the late Earl of *Oxford*, wherein many hard Reflections are made upon others ; but the hardest of all on the Person here refer'd to. He is painted in the worst Colours, and accused to the *Queen* of the greatest Faults. Should I descend into the Particulars, I might shew that the Accusations were groundless, and point out, perhaps, the unjust Causes of Suspicions, which were taken, as well as the Motives to the writing that *Memorial*, which I wish had never been written for a Reason very different from that, which

which the *Remarker* would be ready assign. But shall not descend into any such Particulars, nor give a double Advantage to the *Malicious*, who would be just as well pleased to have any Handle given them by the *living* of inveighing against the *dead*, as they are ready to seize, on every Occasion, that, which was given them, so many years ago, by one who is now *dead*, of inveighing against the *living*.

The *Persons*, who had the Honour to serve the *late Queen*, in the last Period of her Life, have been these twenty Years the Subjects of great Clamour. If the Differences, which happened amongst them so long ago, gave, in some Measure, as I apprehend that they did, both Occasion and Force to this Clamour, it would be strange Conduct, indeed, in those of them, who remain *alive*, and in the *Relations* and *Friends* of those of them, who are *dead*, to preserve this Spirit of Difference, and to assist in reviving this Clamour.

The Day will come, when *Authentick History* will relate the Passages of those Times, without Regard to the partial Views of any Party, or the particular Defence of any Man. 'Till this Day does come, every one must decide, or suspend his Judgment, as he sees Reason to do, and they, who may suffer by these Judgments, must bear it with that Temper and Respect, which is due from every private Man to publick Censures; nay, even to publick Prejudices.

But what hath all this to do with the Characters and Conduct of the *noble Pair*? Suppose the Men in Power, two Reigns ago, to have been *Angels of Darkness*; will it follow that the *two honourable Patrons of the Remarker* are *Angels of Light*? What then is the Meaning of so great a Clamour, affectedly rais'd on so slender an Occasion as the *Craftsman* of the 22d of *May* gave; wherein little was said, and that little with much Moderation after much Provocation? Why are so many Pens employed, and so great Pains taken, to divert the Attention of the Publick from the present to past Transactions; from national Considerations to personal Altercations?—The Reason is obvious; and no other Reason in Nature can be assigned. The *noble Pair* have been hard push'd, on their Management of *publick Affairs*, both
at

at home and abroad. Not only their *Errors* have been pointed out; gross, palpable Errors; but a long Series of Error; a whole System of cool, deliberate, conducted, defended, expensive Errors, hath been laid open to publick View. What I believe never to have happened before, hath happened on these Occasions. The *noble Pair* have been admonished in Time, and shewn the Precipice, into which, whoever led, they were both falling. The Consequences of their Measures have been foretold as early as possible, and even whilst the Causes were laying. Surely this Conduct, on the Part of their *Adversaries*, favours more of *publick Spirit* than of *private Resentment*; and yet, when they have taken Advantage of it, they have stopt short and triumph'd in their Escape, as they did in the Case of the *Irish Recruits*. These very Admonitions, which gave them Time and Opportunity to do so, have been modestly attributed to *private Resentment* alone; though nothing can be more manifest than this; that *private Resentment* would have found its Account better in Silence; would have preferr'd *Accusations* to *Admonitions*, and would have waited longer to have struck more home.

Sometimes, instead of stopping short, they have gone on, answering for and being answered for, till the *Events* have justify'd the *Predictions*; till the Inconveniencies, Disadvantages and Difficulties, against which the *noble Pair* had been warn'd in vain, have followed and increased upon them; till even their Apologists have been forced to allow some Errors, and till they themselves have confess'd their *boasted System* to be wrong, by changing it, and boasting of the Change. Even after all this, they have complained of Clamour; and they still complain, as if there had never been the least Occasion for it given by them. — How their new *Schemes* are plann'd, and how they will be pursued; whether these able Men have fail'd hitherto, because they set out on *mistaken Principles of Policy*, whether they have fail'd for want of Skill to conduct the rightest, we shall soon see.

But these are not the only Circumstances, which have borne, and still bear hard upon them. — In the Course

Course of these and other Disputes, it seems to have been plainly and fully proved, that such Principles have been established, and such Doctrines have been taught by the *ministerial Writers*, as tend manifestly to destroy the *Freedom of the British Government*. Such are the Dependency (I mean the corrupt Dependency) of Parliaments on the Crown; the Necessity of standing Armies, notwithstanding the Danger of them to *Liberty*; and some other Points, which I need not recapitulate. It is sufficiently known how much, and with how much Reason, the far greater Part of Mankind have been alarmed at these Attempts; which, if they succeed, must hurt not only the inferior and temporary Interests, but the greatest and most permanent, political Interests, which a *Briton* can have at Heart; that of the *Constitution of this Government*.

As these Things have been objected strongly on one Side, so Endeavours have been used on the other, to disguise and to palliate them, or to evade the Consequences drawn from them. But these Endeavours have not succeeded. How, indeed, should they succeed? As well might those, who make them, expect to persuade Mankind that *Slavery* and *Beggary* are preferable to *Liberty* and *Wealth*, as to make the World believe that these Blessings, can be preserved to *Britain* by the very Means, by which they have been lost in so many other free Countries.

Since this therefore cannot be imposed; since the Minds of Men cannot be convinced of such Absurdities, they must be diverted, if possible, from the Subjects. A new Cry is therefore raised, or an old one rather is revived. Disputes, which inflamed the Minds of Men, whilst the Affairs they relate to were transacting, and the Conflict of *Parties* was the most fierce, are renewed at a Time, when they can be of no Benefit to the Publick, and when the same Motives of *Party* subsist no longer. One Man, in particular, is made the Subject of new Invektive. Nothing, which Malice can suggest, and ill Nature and ill Manners utter, is omitted to render his *Person* odious, and to represent his *Design* as dangerous. In the same Breath, we are told that this odious, this dangerous Man is endeavouring to come into Power once more. He stands again a *Candidate*

for

for *Grace and Trust*. " He would again Administer the Publick, abandon its Allies, and sacrifice its Honour. Nothing will satisfy him but the Power, which he once abused and would again abuse; the Trusts, which he once betrayed." These are represented, with equal Modesty and Fairness, to be his Requests; and the *Hero of the Remarker*, that is, the *Remarker's Paymaster*, who administers the Publick so righteously; who never abandon'd its Allies; neither the *Emperor* nor *France*; who never sacrificed its Honour to one, nor its Interest to both; who never abused his Power, nor betrayed his Trust, through Ambition, through Pride, through private Interest, or private Pique; this Person is applauded for his Opposition to such Requests, for his *just and fatal Discernment*.

What *Fatality* there may be in his *Discernment*, I know not; but surely there is a *Fatality*, which attends those, who indulge themselves in speaking and writing, without any Regard to Truth. How could it happen else, that the *Remarker* should so egregiously contradict himself, and destroy in his 40th Page the whole Drift of his 39th? This *bold and rash Scribbler* takes upon him to marshal and characterize insolently the *Friends of the Man* he rails at. If I was not of that Number myself, I should probably say more on the Subject. This however I am under an Obligation to say, that the Friends of *this Gentleman* must be such to his *Person*. They cannot be so to his *Power*. That he takes it as the greatest Compliment, which can be made him, to have a Sympathy of Nature and Conformity of Principles and Designs with them, attributed to him; that he thinks their Friendship an Honour to him, such an Honour as the warmest of his Enemies have Cause to envy, and do envy; such an Honour as the highest of his Enemies would be heartily proud to obtain, and have not been able to obtain.

The Friends now of *this Gentleman*, whom he is sometimes said to lead, and who are sometimes said to employ him as their Tool, just as it suits the present Purpose of Scandal to say; these very Friends, it seems, the very Men who defend him, would never raise him above his present low Condition, nor make him

him the Partner of their Success. ——— However they may employ him, the *Remarker* and his Patrons know how they mean to reward him. ——— Since this is the Case, since they know it to be so; for what Reason, in the Name of Wonder, is all this Bustle made about so insignificant a Tool? ———

Why so many Endeavours to raise a Jealousy, and give an Alarm, as if this Man was aiming again at Power? ——— Why so much Merit ascribed to the *noble Pair*, for keeping him out of it? ——— His own Friends would not raise him to it. ——— How ridiculous then is the Affectation of his Enemies, who value themselves on their Opposition to him?

Let the *noble Pair* stand or fall by their own Merits, or Demerits. I dare answer to them and to the World, upon better Foundations than those of the *Remarker's* laying, that their Continuance in Power will never break the Spirit of this Man, nor their Fall from it excite his Ambition. His Ambition, whatever may have been said or thought about it, hath been long since dead. A Man must be dead himself, who is utterly insensible of all that happens, either to the Publick or to himself; but he, who seeks nothing but *Retreat*, and that Stability of Situation, which is essential to the Quiet of it, hath surely no Ambition. Now that this is the Case, hath been long the Case of the Gentleman, concerning whom I speak, I know to be true, and I affirm boldly. He never had the least, I say more, he never would have had the greatest Obligations to any Country, except his own; and yet so desirous was this Man of Rest and Quiet, that he was contented to enjoy them where Fortune had presented them to him. A little Frankness might have kept him abroad all his Life, without Complaint. Much Art has been employed to confine him at home, and to teaze him there. If, forgetting all former Persecution, he resented the last, would he be much to blame?

I am not conscious of having said, in this Paper, a Word against the Truth; and I am sure that I have the same Truth on my Side, when I assert that this Man, whom the *Libeller* represents to be so turbulent, so outrageous, and of such pertinacious Ambition, however he might have been willing formerly

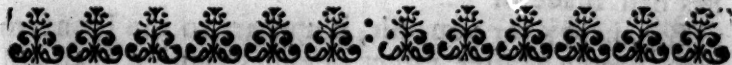
ly to have had the Obligation to the *noble Pair* of enjoying, by their Assistance, the full Measure of his late Majesty's intended Goodness, would decline with Scorn, after all that has passed, to be reinstated in his former Situation, at the intolerable Expence of having the least Appearance of an Obligation to them. Neither they, nor their *Advocates*, can be half so solicitous to keep him out of Power, and even out of a State of aspiring after Power, as he is determined against the first, and indifferent about the last.

I am sensible that all this may appear a little improbable to the *Persons* I oppose. It will be hard for them to conceive that the Man, who had once tasted Power, can ever renounce it in earnest. No wonder they should think in this Manner. Those, who find nothing in themselves to rest upon with Satisfaction, must lean on Power; on Riches, or both, and on other external Objects. Nay, these, who have of the two Vices, Ambition and Avarice, the meanest in the most eminent Degree; and who would be glad to quit their Power, and to retire with their Gains, may be afraid to quit it, because they have abused it. They may be so miserable as to see no Security out of Power, nor any other in it, except that precarious, that temporary Security, which is the last and usual Refuge of *desperate Men*; the continuing the same Violences to maintain, by which they acquired the Power, the keeping up of *Dissensions*, and the *embroiling of Affairs*; those noble Arts, by which they rose.

But there are Men in the World, who know that there is something in Life better than Power, and Riches; and such Men may prefer the *low Condition*, as it is called by the *Remarker*, of one Man, to the high *Condition* of another. There are Men, who see that *Dignity* may be disgraced, and who feel that *Disgrace* may be dignified. Of this Number is the *Gentleman*, whom I have undertaken to defend; who possesses his Soul without Hopes or Fears, and enjoys his *Retreat* without any Desires beyond it. In that *Retreat*, he is obedient to the *Laws*, dutiful to his *Prince*, and true to his *Oaths*. If he fails in these Respects, let him be publickly attacked; let publick Venge-

Vengeance pursue and overtake him; let the *noble Pair* indulge for once their Passions in a just Cause. If they have no Complaints, of this Nature, to make against him, from whence does this particular Animosity proceed? Have they Complaints of any other Kind to make, and of a private Nature? If they have, why is the Publick troubled on this Account?— I hope the *Remarker's Mask is now taken off*; that the true Drift of all this *personal Railing* is enough exposed; and that the Attention of Mankind will be brought back to those more important Subjects, which have been already started, and to those, which every Day may furnish.

After what has been here said, the *Gentleman*, in whose Defence I have appeared, can have no Reason of Honour to enter by himself, or his *Friends*, into these Altercations; and if my Opinion can prevail, should these *Libellers* continue to scold and to call Names, they should be left to do it, without Reproof, or Notice. The Answer now given should stand as a *final Answer to all they have said, and to all they think fit to say hereafter.*



The Speaker's Reprimand to Sir JOHN EYLES, March 31. 1732.

Sir John Eyles,

THE House have come to a Resolution, that you are guilty of a great Irregularity, as a Commissioner and Trustee for Sale of the Forfeited Estates for the Use of the Publick, by empowering Mr. *Samuel Allen*, Secretary of the Commissioners and Trustees for the Sale of the said Estates, to sign your Name, when absent, in order to make up the Number of Commissioners and Trustees required by Act of Parliament, to Matters of Form, in Proceedings under the said Act:

And

And have imposed a Command upon me, which is the only one, I can truly say, that I ever received with any Uneasiness in the Place I now sit; not from any Doubt of the Justice of the Command, nor from any Unwillingness in me to obey an Order of the House; but because you, Sir, are unfortunately the Subject of it, for whom I have always had the greatest personal Regard.

The Offence you are guilty of, having come within the Notice of the House, it was impossible it should escape their Censure, as it had a Reference to a Trust reposed in you; repos'd by Parliament! the highest and most sacred Authority any Subject of this Kingdom can act under! and with a particular Confidence in you, and the others join'd with you, because of the Relation you bore to the Parliament: A Trust of great Importance, and which required great Pains and Attention to it, and for that a very considerable Recompence was assigned to you out of the publick Treasure. The Recompence, Sir, you enjoyed; but the Pains and Attention expected from you, you fail'd in, and illegally delegated your Trust in Instances where a false and fraudulent Use has ben made of it.

But, happy for you, Sir, it appears to the House to have been a Matter rather of evil Example, than evil Intention in you; for which Reason, the Resolutions of the House, on this Occasion, have a Mixture of Justice and Mercy; and as your Offence will always justify the Censure of the House upon you, let it be your Care, Sir, that your future Behaviour always justify the Lenity of the House to you. Let the Justice of the House make you fear, and the Clemency of the House make it a Matter of Sorrow in you to offend again.

This Sense, I persuade my self you have of the Judgment the House have pass'd upon you, which is, that I reprimand you for your said Offence, and I do reprimand you accordingly.

Sir

Sir John Eyles's REPLY, after having been reprimanded by the Speaker, Pursuant to the Order of the House of Commons, March 31. 1732.

S I R,

I Am very much ashamed of an Offence that has drawn upon me the Animadversion and Censure of this House; an Offence which, at the Time of committing it, I had scarce any Idea of being subject to blame for. I am now made truly sensible of it, and the strong and lively Colours in which you, Sir, have drawn it, will be to me a lasting Memento of future Caution.

The Judgment the House has passed upon me I endure with a dutiful Submission; and you, Sir, having shewn that Tendernefs and Humanity which is agreeable to your Nature, in pronouncing it, and thereby, in some Degree, abated its Rigour, I cannot but express my grateful and sincere Acknowledgment to your self, and also to the House, for their Favour in not carrying this Censure to any further Consequence.

The SPEAKER's Thanks to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount GAGE, March 31. 1732. Together with his Lordship's Reply.

My Lord GAGE,

THE House have come to an unanimous Resolution, That the Thanks of the House be given to your Lordship, for the great Service you have done the Publick, in detecting the fraudulent

K

lent

lent Sale of certain forfeited Estates of *James* late Earl of *Derwentwater*, and of a forfeited Annuity issuing out of the same, which were vested in Commissioners and Trustees, to be sold for the publick Use.

And the Manner of your Lordship's making this Discovery has shewn your disinterested Regard to the publick Service, as the Effect of it may be greatly to the publick Benefit.

The applying the forfeited Estates to the Use of the Publick, being one of the principal Reasons for making it thereby impossible they should ever be given back to the unfortunate Families they once belonged to, the House of Commons could not, without Uneasiness, think of this pretended Sale, which has thrown into private Hands, no ways allied to the Estate, so large a Share of Profit due to the Publick, with a very low, and almost the bare Appearance only of a Consideration for one Part, and not so much as even *that* for another.

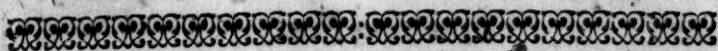
But your Lordship's seasonable Detection of this injurious Transaction will, very likely, produce Justice and Restitution to the Publick; and for this Service your Lordship is now receiving a Reward that, I can answer for your Lordship, you esteem the greatest and most honourable you can acquire, and which, my Lord, will not only remain with you, but will derive a lasting Honour to those who may come after you!

An Honour, my Lord! the House has always been most tender of in the Way, and for the Reason they confer it upon you; and, if I may use the Expression, is a sort of Bounty they have ever been most frugal of granting. Few are the Instances of it; not that publick Services have not frequently been performed, but that the Thanks of the House of Commons are never given for publick Services, but what are the most eminent, such as that which your Lordship has lately done the State.

I am very conscious how imperfectly I have convey'd the Sense of the House to your Lordship; but the having no Time to prepare my self for it, must be my Excuse. I will only add,

That no one could with greater Pleasure obey the Order of the House, on this Occasion, than I do,

do, which is; to give your Lordship the Thanks of the House for your said Service to the Publick; and I do give your Lordship the Thanks of the House accordingly.



His Lordship's REPLY.

Mr. Speaker,

THIS sudden and unexpected Honour hath put me into so great a Confusion, that I never was more at a Loss for Words to express my self than now — All I can say, Sir, is to assure you and the House, that I had no other View in promoting this Enquiry, than to discharge the Trust my Country has reposed in me, by detecting (as far I was able) a Fraud injurious to the Publick.

And since the House has been pleased to distinguish my poor Service in a manner so far beyond what it deserved, or I could have expected, their Approbation of my Behaviour in this Particular Instance will, I hope, so influence my future Conduct in all others, as may convince them, that I shall make it my constant Endeavour to merit the Honour they have done me on this Occasion.



The *Equivalent* for *Fasting*: Or, *Conse- cration-Fee*.

Tune of, *King JOHN and the Abbot of Canterbury*!

I'LL tell you a Story, and warrant it true,
Of a Bishop, who never sought more than his due :
You'll say that is strange ! but attend to my Ditty,
This Bishop was Great, as was his Great City !

Derry down, down, &c.

Of late a fine * Church was without any Name,
And his Lordship, who never was call'd, but he came,
Came to Christen the Church, and to consecrate All,
The Pulpit, the Tables, the Pews, and the Wall.

Derry down, &c.

Invited he was by a *Vestry Select*,
Who to shew the *Good Bishop* ! the greatest Respect,
Provided a Dinner, both noble and grand,
Well knowing that *Priests love the Fat of the Land*.

Derry down, &c.

But to their Surprise, my Lord let them know,
'Twas not a right Manner their Duty to shew ;
Their Banquet, for *Conscience*, he durst not to taste,
On such solemn Occasions his *Rule* was to fast.

Derry down, &c.

This Vestry, like other *Good Churchmen and True*,
Thought sure, for such Service, that something was due,
Nor consider'd his Duty, but wish'd to be told,
Will his Lordship accept a small Present in Gold ?

Derry down, &c.

Old S——n, the Chaplain, cut short the Debate,
And told them, for his Part, a Present in Plate,
Would, in his poor and humble Opinion, look best,
And that from the Butler they'd learn all the rest.

Derry down, &c.

The Butler (as Butlers are wont) chose a Cup,
Too weighty and large for one Hand to lift up :
For this the New Parish was tax'd Fifty Pound,
Which the Bishop (poor Man !) took for Christ'ning the
Ground !

Derry down, &c.

* St. G——ge H——r Sq——re.

From

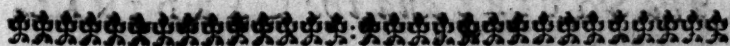
rom hence we may learn, if a Bishop decline
To taste of your Feast, when you ask him to dine,
What a Bishop expects for refusing a Meal,
The Effects of his Fast a whole Parish will feel.

Derry down, &c.



*Upon the Author's seeing the Pictures of
Osborne, Walsingham, Concanen and
Henley, in a Necessary-House, drawn
upon the Wall.*

HAIL *Gloria*! Guardian of these Vaults!
How high this noble Work thy Runic exalts!
Say, with what Pleasure we behold these Scenes?
Thy Bosto's rise, and emulate a Queen's
What tho' a *Newton, Locke, Clarke, Wollaston*,
By Royal Favour live in polished Stone!
Thy breathing Marble shall transmit to Fame
A greater *Osborne*, and a *Walsingham*?
A *Henley* and *Concanen* too we see,
Superior Names! immortaliz'd by thee.
While *C——* and thou such Trophies raise,
Alike your Labours, be alike your Praise.



*A true Copy of a LIST of Fifteen pro-
posed to Inspect the Affairs of the
South-Sea Company, as delivered by
an honest Proprietor.*

DR. *William Wake*, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury
Dr. *William Baker*, Lord Bishop of Norwich
Dr. *Henry Egerton*, Lord Bishop of Hereford
Dr. *William Green*, Lord Bishop of Ely
Dr. *John Potter*, Lord Bishop of Oxford
Dr. *Richard Willis*, Lord Bishop of Winchester
The Reverend Dr. *Charles Fleetwood*
The Reverend Dr. *Henry Godolphin*
The Reverend Dr. *Walter Goodfellow*
The Reverend Mr. *Amy Lullin*

The

The Reverend Mr. *Thomas Reade*

The Reverend Mr. *Henry Rider*

The Reverend Mr. *George Seidel*

Sir *John Gonson*

Jacob Fernandes Nunes.

SIX *Bishops*, Seven *Doctors*, One *Justice*, One *Jew*,
 All qualify'd, *righteous*, upright Men and true;
 Are humbly propos'd to be the *Inspectors*
 Of the doubtful Affairs of the *South-Sea Directors*:
 For *Bishops*, who doubts but they are all good!
 And *Doctors*, for certain, are of as true *Blood*:
 For G--son's great *Justice* you need not to doubt,
 A Thousand poor Devils would gladly come out
 From *Newgate* and *Bridewell* to prove it all true
 For G--son's as *honest* almost as a *Jew*:
 And *Jewish Uprightness* there's none can gain say,
 They ne'er take a *Bribe*, nor ever betray:
 These things being prov'd, 'tis hop'd you will chuse 'em,
 For the Devil is in you, if you can refuse 'em:
 From such a *Committee*, *Stockholders*, no doubt,
 May live to see wonderful things brought about.
 All *honest Men* wish, and, perhaps, not in vain,
 To see a *Strong Halter* succeed a *Gold Chain*.

The SQUIRE and the CARDINAL.

I'LL tell you a Story, a Story so merry,
 Of a wise *Norfolk Squire* and *Cardinal Fleury*:
 (I mean not to sing of this *Cardinal's Might*,)
 How he led in a String both the *Squire* and the *Knight*.
Derry down, down, hey derry down.

II.

But how he and the *Pope* a Project did forge,
 To get tall *Irishmen* to fight with King *GEORGE*;
 An Army to make for the *Papish Pretender*,
 Against the good King, of our Faith the Defender.

Derry Down.

III.

To this *Cardinal* high, with his *Bonnet* so red,
 Quoth *H-----ce*, the *Squire*, polite and well bred,
 Adieu, my Good Lord, is there aught I can do,
 At *England's* fair Court, for your King or for you?

Derry Down.

VI.

IV.

Dear Friend, said the Priest, procure us, with Ease,
Some tall *Irishmen* for *Dunkirk's* Jetties :
If you will but allow us a Man for each Stone, T A
How rarely we'll settle your King on his Throne !

Derry Down.

V.

When H——ce came Home, ere he pull'd off his Boots,
He ask'd our good King for these *Irish* Recruits ;
To this Cardinal (Liege) if we are not civil,
Both my Brother and I must go to the D——l.

Derry Down.

VI.

Oh! H——ce, of late thou art turn'd a meer Fool,
The *French* shall not run my Men nor my Wool ;
If this silly Request I should grant unto thee,
Thy Head would be taken from thy Body.

Derry Down.

VII.

The Recruits which the *French* for *Dunkirk* demand,
For all that they yet have pull'd down on that Strand,
Ere many Years pass may attempt to come over,
As they try'd once before from *Dunkirk* to *Dover* A

Derry Down.

VIII.

Ten Thousand like them, in Battle Array,
Tho' I fear not myself, my good People may ;
Then the King, who no more of this Matter would hear,
Sent H——ce away with a Flea in his Ear.

Derry Down.

The Statesman's FALL: Or, Sir BOB
in the Dust. A new Hunting Song
from Windsor.

Tune of, To all ye Ladies now at Land.

I.

Y E Hunters all at Hampton-Court,
And eke at Windsor too,
Who chase the Stag with manly Sport,
My Song is meant for you: And

And fraught with Cautions worth your Care,
Tho' set to no *Italian Air*.

With a fa, la la la, &c;

II.

A Truth my Ditty shall declare,
Fit Warning for ye All:
How Arrogance in full Career,
Hath often met a Fall.

Then ride not, *Courtiere*, quite so fast,
Lest, like Sir *BOB*,—you trip at last.

With a fa, la la la, &c;

III.

The Tale I tell is of a K—t,
Whom all of ye must know,
Who, tho' an *archmiser*, toothless Wight,
Is yet a Jocky Beau.
In Body gross, of Saffron Hue,
Deck'd forth in Green, with Ribband Blue.

With a fa, la la la, &c;

IV.

His Person, Parts, and Wit proclaim
Him of *La Mancha's* Breed,
With all of *Sancho* in his Frame,
And *Quixot* in his Head.
From native Bronze, and starch'd Grimace,
Surnam'd the *Knight of Rufful Face*.

With a fa, la la la, &c;

V.

When on his Steed so stately set,
And his Attendants by,
His Vanity out-run his Wit,
To see himself so high:
He thought he ne'er could go too far,
So, *Jehu*-like, rode Whip and Spur.

With a fa, la la la, &c;

VI.

His Mare, of *English* Mettle bold,
Uneasy at his Weight,
Found, as he on her Main laid hold,
How awkwardly he sat:
Unus'd at such a Rate to go,
She kick'd—and laid her Rider low.

With a fa, la la la, &c;

VII.

In piteous Plight Sir Knight was found,
Whom Fear and Hurt did stun:
While *Sorrel* frisk'd and caper'd round,
As proud of what she'd done:

Some

Some thought (for I the Truth must speak)
He'd broke his Bones——most with'd his Neck;

With a fa, la la la, &c.

VIII.

But tho' their pious Hopes were vain!
Yet so much hurt was he,
That all the *Esculapian* Train
In Judgment did agree,
His Case, when rightly understood,
Demanded *proper Loss of Blood.*

With a fa, la la la, &c.

IX.

Now to my Song you've lent an Ear,
Pray give it Credit due;
Since on my Honour I aver,
That all I've said is true:
Tho' some who're prone to *Allegory*,
Would archly thus unfold my Story.

With a fa, la la la, &c.

X.

They'd say, that by the Knight is meant,
One at the H-lm, who steers,
Who eke the Mare of G-ver-m-t
Has switch'd these many Years:
Yet thick in Skull, in Judgment *sidle*,
He scarce knows how to fit his Saddle.

With a fa, la la la, &c.

XI.

With Thought profound they say likewise,
That they the Secret spy,
How, in a Hunting quaint Disguise,
A P——t doth lie;
Another Riddle this unlocks,
That by the Stag——is meant a *Fox*.

With a fa, la la la, &c.

XII.

As to the Fall, with equal Skill,
They've found a new Preence;
They own the Word is proper still,
But in another Sense:
For *Bleeding*——that, say they, is clear,
It means the *Axe* and *Jugular*.

With a fa, la la la, &c.

To the Praise and Glory of R. W.

I.

ALL Laud and Praise to *W*———le be,
Both now and evermore;
For him we know our *POLE* at Sea,
Our *Brazen WALL* a-Shore,

II.

By him our Merchants safely steer,
Nor dread the *Spaniards* Robbing;
At Sea, no *Pirates* can they fear,
At Home, no Tricks in Jobbing,

III.

Cry, *Britons*, then! cry out again!
Sing, clap your Hands and dance:
Tis *W*———le who has humbl'd *Spain*,
And made a Foel of *France*.

IV.

Be lavish eke in *W*———le's Praise,
Ye rugged Sons of War;
Since he did your Debentures raise,
Then paid himself at *Par*.

V.

These Blessings had our Nation lost,
Cou'd *Tories* had their Way;
Or had they rais'd him to a *POST*,
When as he dealt in *HAY*.

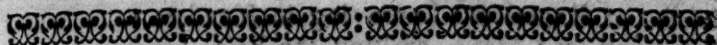
VI.

How shou'd we then rejoice and sing,
He sav'd his destin'd Neck,
Which now, instead of Hempen String,
A Ribbon Blue doth deck.

VII.

VII.

May he enjoy the *PEACE* he gave;
 And roll, like us, in Wealth;
 Late may he fill the yawning Grave,
 But die in *Perfect Health*.



On the *VOTE* for the *SALT-TAX*

WHEN with politick Sneer, and with florid Ex-
 pression,
 The Knight had harangu'd in the Cause of Op-
 pression,
 With Hearts swell'd with Joy, all his Sycophants smil'd,
 In hopes that his Cant had the Members beguil'd :
 At last, quoth *Will Trusty*, Sir *Blue*, by your Favour,
 Tho' your Subject was *Salt*, your Speech has no *Savour* :
 In spite of your Art, we your Plot understand,
 And that next Year you'll load both our *Salt* and our *Land*,
 So Sharpers, at Play, suffer Bubbles to win,
 Till pleas'd with their Luck, they are deeper drawn in ;
 And ruin'd at length, by the Help of false Tools,
 Are laugh'd at, at once, both for Beggars and Fools.



Confondant du passé le léger souvenir,
 Ebloüi du présent, sans percer l'avenir ;
 Dans l'art de gouverner decrepit, & Novice,
 Punissant la Vertu, recompensant le Vice.
 Malgré sa Tête altière accablé de son rang,
 Fourbe dans le Petit, & Dupe dans le Grand.
 On connoit à ces traits, même sans qu'on le nomme,
 Le *MAITRE* de la France, & le *VALET* de Rome.

Imi-

Imitated in *English*.

WITH Favour and Fortune fastidiously blest,
He's loud in his Laugh, and he's coarse in his Jest,
Of Favour and Fortune unmerited vain;

A Sharper in Trifles, a Dupe in the Main.

Atchieving of nothing, still promising Wonders,

By dint of Experience improving in Blunders.

Oppressing true Merit, exalting the Base,

And selling his Country to purchase a Peace.

A Jobber of Stocks, by retailing false News,

A Prater at Court, in the Stile of the Stews.

Of Virtue and Worth, by Profession, a Giber,

Of Juries and Senates, the Bully and Briber.

Tho' I name not the Wretch, you know who I mean,

'Tis the Cur-Dog of *Britain*, and Spaniel of *Spain*.

6 MA 50

F I N I S

